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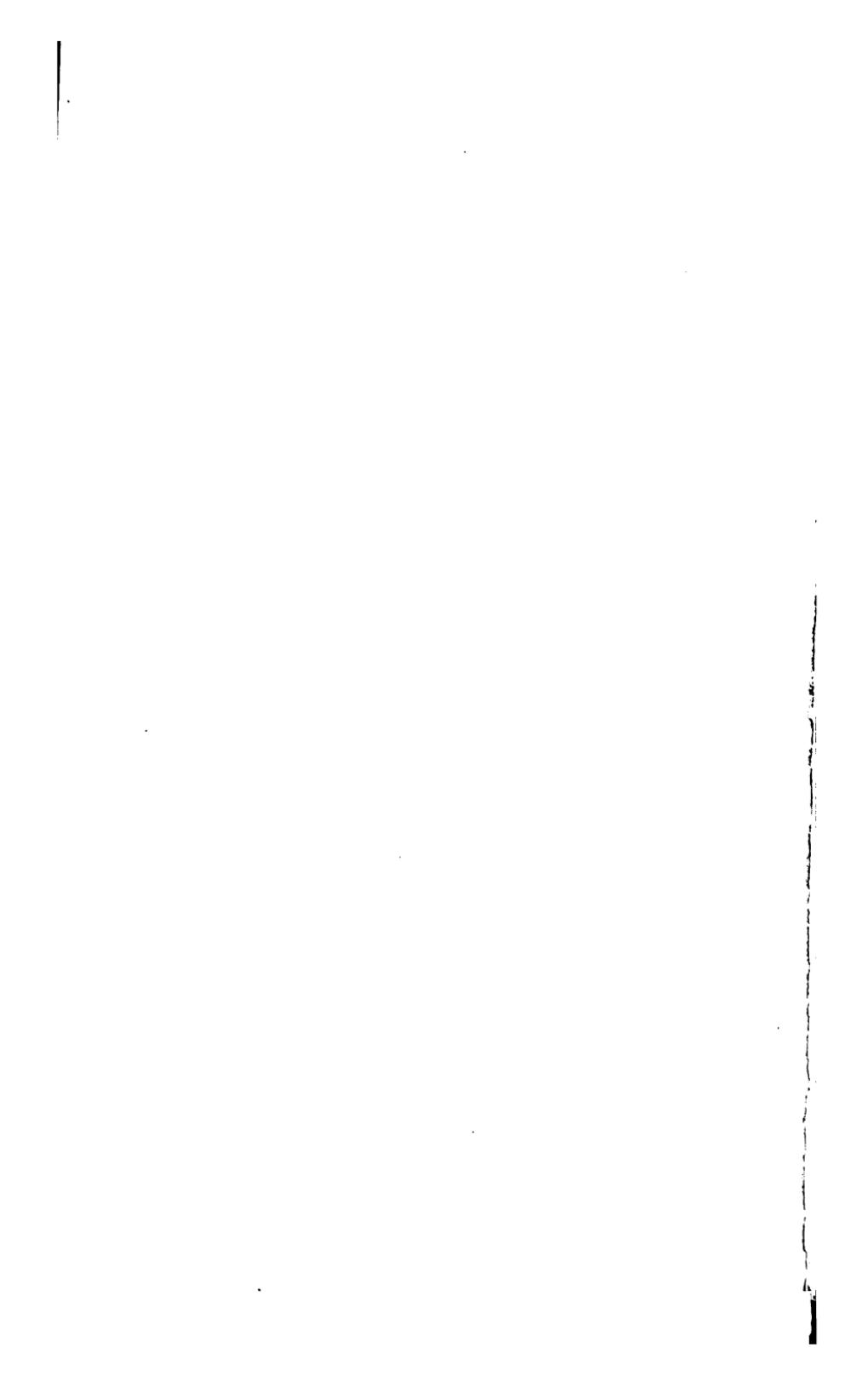
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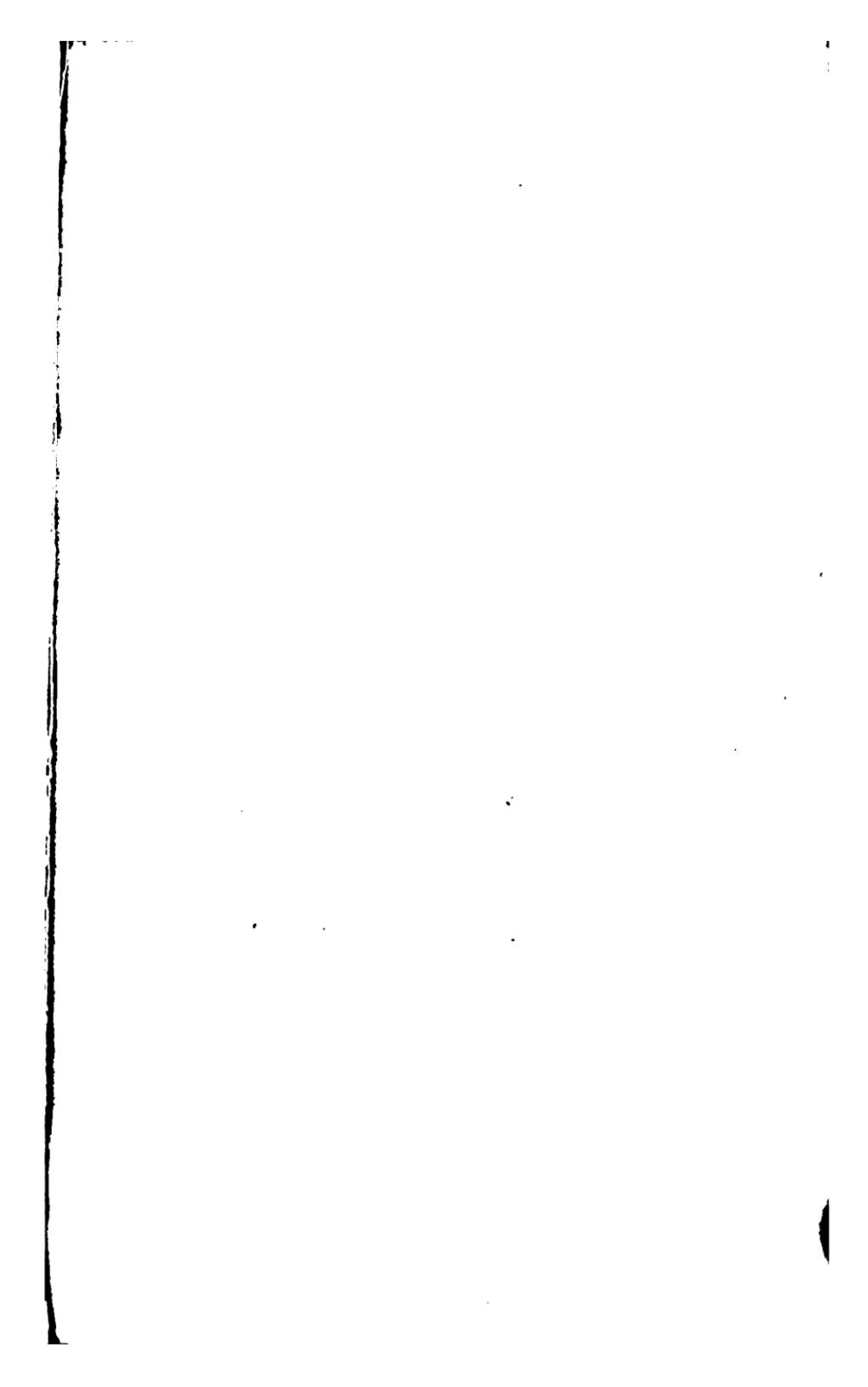
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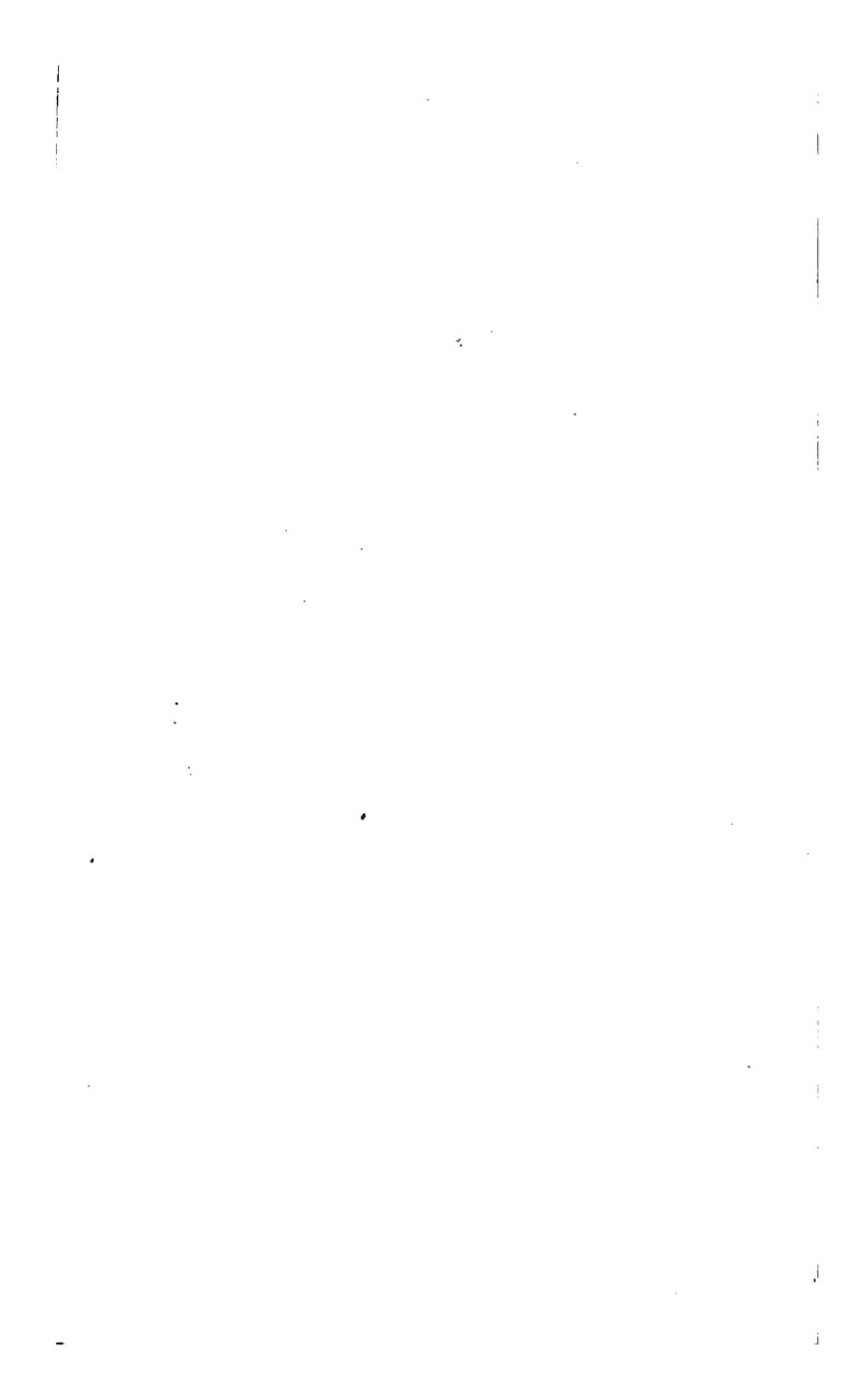


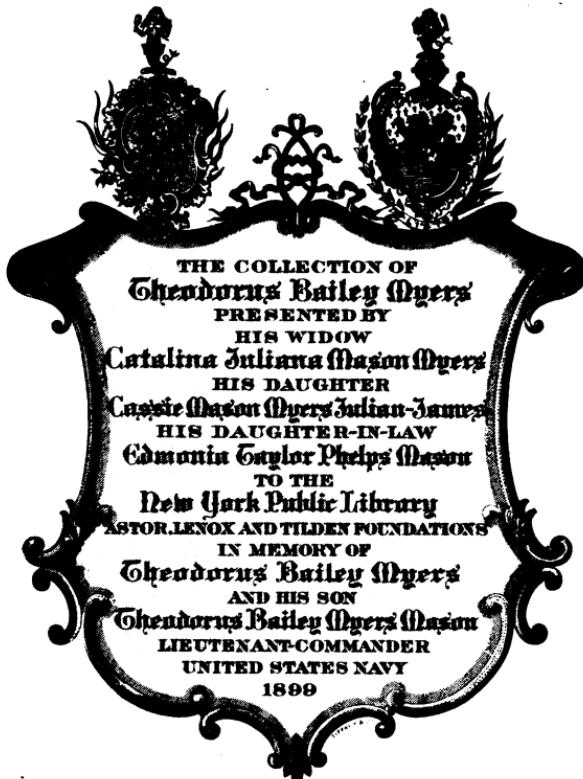
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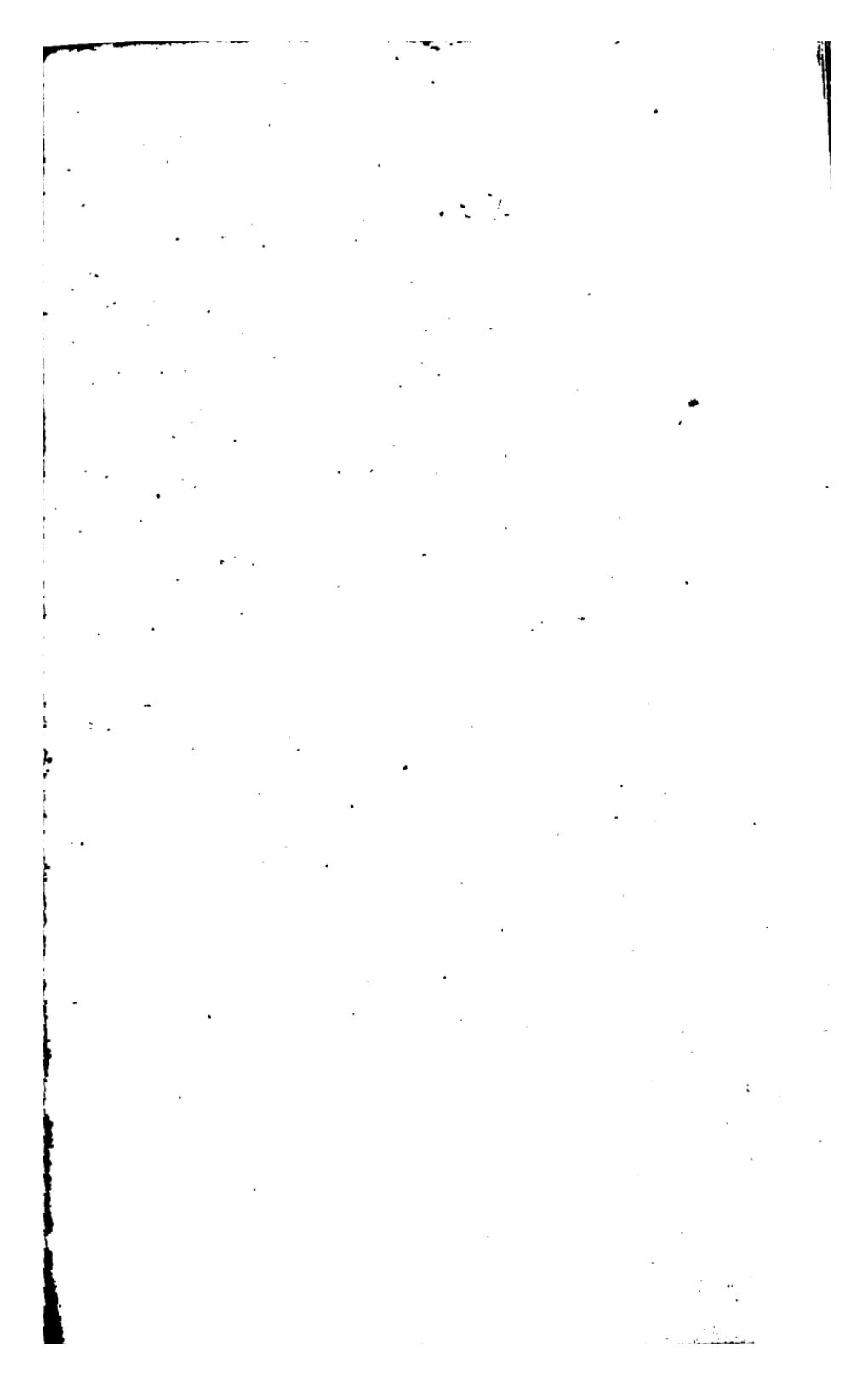






C.B.





Facing the Title of the Second



K. CANUTE
the Great.

Verde Sculp.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
AS WELL
Ecclesiastical as Civil.

BY MR. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

MR. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

VOL. II. In Two PARTS.

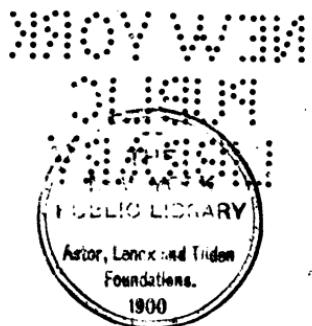
PART I. Contains the Reigns of ETHELRED II, SWEYN, EDMUND Ironside, CANUTE the Great, HAROLD Harefoot, HARDICANUTE, EDWARD the Confessor, HAROLD II. With the State of the CHURCH from 979 to 1066. And a Dissertation on the Government, Laws, Customs, Manners, Religion and Language of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

PART II. Contains the Reigns of WILLIAM the Conqueror, WILLIAM Rufus, HENRY I. and STEPHEN; with the State of the CHURCH from 1066 to 1154.

Done into ENGLISH from the FRENCH, with large and useful NOTES mark'd with an *, by
N. TINDAL, M. A. Vicar of Great Waltham in Essex.

Illustrated with the Heads of the Kings, &c. Curiously Engrav'd on COPPER-PLATES.

LONDON, Printed for JAMES and JOHN KNAFTON,
at the Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1726.



2886?

திரும்புகிற நான் தெரியும் நான் நான் நான் நான் நான் நான்

To the HONOURABLE

Sir CHARLES WAGER, K^t.

*One of the Lords Commissioners
for Executing the Office of
Lord High-Admiral of Great-
Britain, Vice-Admiral of the
Red Squadron of his Majesty's
Fleet, Commander in Chief
of his Majesty's Squadron of
Ships now in the Baltick, and
Plenipotentiary to the Court
of Sweden.*

SIR,



HIS Translation, to which I make bold to prefix your Name, amongst other remarkable Occurrences, gives an Account of Two great *Revolutions* in *England*; the First by the *Danish*, the Second by the *Norman* Arms: Both which are

DEDICATION.

are standing Monuments of the Necessity of a *Naval Force*, not only for the Grandeur, but the Safeguard of our Island. For as the *Weakness* of our *Ancestors*, their *little Reputation* Abroad, their being *continually* liable to *Foreign Invasions*, was chiefly, if not altogether, owing to the want of a *Fleet*; so on the contrary, they grew more *Strong* and *Powerful*, their *Dread* of Invasions disappear'd, and their *Fame* gain'd Ground in the World, in Proportion as their Shipping encreas'd. And now that we are at this present Height of Grandeur and Glory, have the Balance of Power in our Hands, are more Formidable than ever, not only to the *Neighbouring*, but *most Distant* Nations, keep in Awe (as You your Self experience at this very Time) the Disturbers of the Peace of *Europe*, and compel them, tho' never so unwilling, to sit down in Quiet, proceeds entirely from the Flou-rishing Condition of our *Navy*, which for *Number* of Ships, for *Stout* and *Able* Sailors, and for *Brave* and *Experienc'd* Officers, I may venture to say is not to be equall'd by all the *Maritime Powers of Europe*.

WE have likewise in this Part of Mr. *de Rapin's* History, an impartial Account of the *Origin* of our *Constitution*, particularly in the *Dissertation* on the *Government, Laws, &c.* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and a plain Refutation of that groundless and pernicious Notion, started among us of late Years, that all the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the People of *England* are but so many *Concessions* of their Princes. For here all may

DEDICATION.

may be convinc'd, who are not blinded by Education or Prejudice, that our *Liberties* are interwoven in the *original Frame* of our Government, and that, notwithstanding the Alterations and Changes, *Time* and other *Circumstances* may have brought with them, yet this *Maxim*, that *no Englishman is subject to any Laws, but what the whole Nation has consented to*, has all along been deem'd in *England*, as the *Foundation* and *Basis* of our *Constitution*. A Privilege that ought to be Dear and Invaluable to all true Lovers of their Country.

WHAT Benefit, upon these and many other Accounts, the *English Reader* may reap from this *Translation* of the Best and most Impartial History of *England* yet extant, it is but just that he receive it thro' your Hands, who have enabled me the better to carry on this Work, by the Leisure I enjoy under you in your Expedition to the *North*; from whence may you return with Honour and Safety, and long live an Ornament to your Country, a Patron and Friend to the Distress'd, a shining Example to the Rich and Great; and, when you go hence, may you receive the bright Crown of Glory laid up in Store for such as do Good, and wish well to all their Fellow-Creatures, is the hearty Prayer of,

SIR,

*Your most Obedient,
and most Obliged*

Humble Servant,

NICHOLAS TINDAL.

The

*From on Board the
Torbay in the Bay
of Revel in the Gulf
of Finland, July 12.
1726.*

The P R E F A C E.



HE Translator, perceiving that, contrary to the Declaration in the Plan of Mr. De Rapin's History, publish'd by Mr. Rogissart, the References to the Originals were frequently omitted in the Margin, was at a great Loss to know the Reason of it, when he accidentally met with the following Letter from Mr. De Rapin to one of the Authors of the German Bibliotheque, which plainly discovers the Secret.

S I R,

I Am not at all surpris'd at your having remark'd the Omission of my *Authorities* in several Places ; however I shall alledge an Excuse, which to you may be satisfactory, tho' not to the *Publick*. Having given my *Manuscripts* to be copied fair by a young Man in the Neighbourhood, he left *Blank Spaces* for such proper Names as he cou'd not readily read, the which 'twas my Busines to fill up : For the same Reason, he left *Blanks* for several Citations in the Margin, which I propos'd to supply ; but unlucklily I began with the *Text*, intending to fill up the *Blanks* in the Margin afterwards ; but having done the first Part of my Work, I was willing to take Time for the other Part, and by that Means quite forgot it : So that I have in the Margin of my *Manuscript*, Abundance of References, which are not in the *Printed Copy*. For I laid it down for an *Inviolable Rule*, to relate Nothing of Moment without producing my *Vouchers* ; and I don't question but in a Second *Edition*, I shall be able to supply from my own *Manuscript* all the References that are wanting, without being forc'd to have Recourse to the Books. But supposing I should inform the World of the Reason of these Omissions, the *Publick* might justly think it unsatisfactory ; and I must own I deservedly stand condemn'd on that Score, because 'twas purely the Effect of my Carelessness.

This

The P R E F A C E.

This Defect the Translator, since he knew the Reason of it, has endeavour'd to supply, as far as Time and Opportunity gave Leave, especially in Cases that depend on the Authority of a single Historian.

At the same Time with the Letter above, he met likewise with Another from Mr. De Rapin to the same Person, about another Point relating to his History, the which it may not be amiss to translate.

S I R,

YOU wish that I had given some Account of the Authors I have made Use of in compiling my History: In Answer to which I take the Liberty to submit the following Remarks to your better Judgment. 'Tis true, that in general, it were to be wish'd that all Historians wou'd give themselves this Trouble. But to speak the Truth, for a History, that takes in the Space of above 1700 Years, and about which I have consulted some hundreds of Authors, I find the doing This wou'd be too tedious a Work. I shou'd think all that cou'd reasonably be expected from me, is, that I shou'd give a Character of the Authors I have follow'd in controverted and important Matters, and who after all are but few in Number, if we except Ecclesiastical Affairs, of which I pretend only to give a compendious Account, without descending to minute Particulars. However you may see something of this Nature, in the two Dissertations on the *Salick Law* and the *Maid of Orleance*, at the End of the Reigns of *Edward III.* and *Henry VI.* You'll find likewise in the Beginning of Tome VIII, that, before I had seen your Remark, I was of your Mind, in Regard to the History of the Reign of *Charles I.* and have given some Account of the Authors, who have written of that Reign, because it seem'd necessary for that Part of the History, not indeed on Account of the Facts, wherein they are all pretty well agreed, but on the Score of the different Principles, the several Writers proceeded upon, according as they were engag'd in the One or the Other Party. Mr. *L'enfant* can't but be commended for his Condescension in bringing his

The *P R E F A C E.*

his Readers acquainted with the Authors he made use of in his *History of the Council of Pisa*, tho' this was in some Measure necessary, because in treating of Religious Matters, a *Divine* wou'd be still more suspected than a *Protestant Layman*, in case he produc'd not his *Authorities*. But there's a wide Difference between the History of a single *Council*, and a general History of *England*. However I own, many Readers would no doubt be very glad to see the Historians we are speaking of, well criticis'd upon; but what Numbers are there that would refuse to read any thing of that Kind, seeing 'twould relate to Authors who for the most part writ in *English*? and yet to do this wou'd swell this History, which perhaps is too voluminous already, to another *Tome*, unless I shou'd content any self with giving a bare List of the Names of the Writers I have consulted, as is sometimes done, the which in my Opinion is a very needless Piece of Work.

*The Translator has likewise done something of this Nature, by inserting a short View and Character of the principal English Historians, from Bishop Nicholson and other Criticks, at the Conclusion of Mr. De Rapin's *Seate of the Church*, where he always subjoins an Account of the most famous Ecclesiasticks and Others, who did not so properly fall in his Way in the Course of his History.*

Our Author in his Account of the Reign of William the Conqueror has taken Care not to be sway'd either by the Norman, or the English Historians, They having Both very much aggravated Matters when speaking for or against that Prince; But has fairly confronted the One with the Other, and endeavour'd to come at the Truth by such of the Conqueror's Actions, as are not contested.





THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK V.

The continual Invasions of the Danes, during the Reign of Ethelred II. They conquer England. Four Danish Kings, Sweyn, Canute, Harold I, Hardicanute, reign successively. The Danes in the Reign of Edward the Confessor, are expell'd the Kingdom, but by whom or how, is not known. A particular Account of the gradual Rise of Earl Goodwin and his Son Harold, who succeeds by Election to King Edward. The Right of Edgar Atheling, the last of the Saxon Race, set by to make Way for Harold II. An Examination of the Pretensions to the Crown of England, of William the Bastard, Duke of Normandy, who, by the Battle of Hastings, becomes Master of all England. The State of the Church from the Beginning of Ethelred's Reign to the Norman Conquest.

14. ETHELRED II.



FTER the Murder of *Edward*, no Man-
ner of Pretence cou'd be urg'd against
his Brother *Ethelred*'s succeeding to the
Crown, he being the last of the Royal
Family, and too young to be accus'd of
partaking in his Mother's Crime. Ac-
cordingly, *Dunstan* cou'd not refuse to
crown him, being then about twelve Years of Age, tho'
he plainly foresaw it would prove fatal to his Party. It is
affirm'd,

979.
Ethelred II
crown'd.

affirm'd, that *Dunstan* at his Coronation foretold, by the Spirit of Prophecy, the Miseries to which *England* was going to be expos'd in his Reign. But Predictions of this Nature are always to be suspected, when attributed to *Saints*, such as *Dunstan*, by Authors who wrote after the Event. However this be, the People had very different Thoughts of this new Reign. They flatter'd themselves they were about to enjoy a State of Tranquillity, under a Prince who had given an Instance of his good Nature, by lamenting bitterly the Death of the King his Brother, though it procur'd him the Crown. An Historian * tells us, his Tears appear'd so unfealnable to his Mother, that catching up a Wax-Taper in a Passion, she beat him so unmercifully with it, that he cou'd not endure the Sight of a Wax-Light ever after.

* Malm.
and
Brompton

*His Cha-
racter.*

The first thing *Ethelred* did after his Coronation, was the removing the Body of the late King to *Shaftsbury-Church*. Hardly had he perform'd this Office, but he found himself attack'd by the *Danes*, who suffer'd him to enjoy no Quiet during the Residue of his Life. If this Prince had follow'd the Steps of his Predecessors, perhaps he would have caus'd these old Invaders to have laid aside all Thoughts of any new Attempts upon *England*. But his natural Cowardice, join'd to an extream Sluggishness **, an insatiable Avarice, and many other Failings, soon let them see, they had not much to fear from such an Enemy. For about sixty Years they seem'd to have forgot *England*, and the *English* for their Part to have lost all Remembrance of the Calamities they had suffer'd from the Hands of those cruel Enemies. However, after so long an Interval, during which the *Danes* settled in *England*, seem'd to have entertain'd the same Affection for this their second Country, as the Natives themselves, the foreign *Danes* took it in

** This cowardly and sluggish Temper of his was predicted by *Dunstan*, when at his *Baptism* (like *Constantine* the Emperor, from thence call'd, *Copronymus*) he bewray'd the Font, which, *Malmesbury* says, disturb'd *Dunstan* so, that it made him swear, by *God and St. Mary*, this Boy will prove a *Poultron*, Lib. 2. c. 10. de Gest. leg. Ang. But this has very much the Air of a Monkish Asperion.

in their Heads to renew their Invasions. They had no sooner appear'd, but the others, resuming their old Inclinations, went and join'd their Countrymen, in order to lay hold on the present Opportunity, to free themselves from the Dominion of the *English*.

The piratical Rovers made their first Attempt on *South-hamptom*, where they arriv'd with seven Ships, and after plundering the Town and Country adjoining, they carried the same Devastations into *Cornwal*. Danes renew their Invasions 981.

This Year another Band landed at *Portland*, pillag'd and sack'd the Country round about, after which they proceeded elsewhere to increase their Spoils *.

These frequent Descents were so much the more incommodious to the *English*, as they had so many Coasts to guard, being by that Means at a Loss to know where the Enemy wou'd land. If at any time it fell out, that they had it in their Power to give them Battle, all the Advantage they cou'd get by it, in case Fortune favour'd them, was to recover the Plunder. But when they themselves were worsted, the Country was sure to be expos'd to all imaginable Barbarities ; before any more Forces cou'd be drawn together, very often whilst the *English* Troops were upon the March to make Head against one Band of these Rovers, they were forc'd to change their *Route*, in order to oppose another that seem'd the more dangerous. Thus, what Care soever might be taken, one Part of the Kingdom was always expos'd, since there was no foreseeing where the Pirates would land. There was but one Way to remedy this Evil, which was, to keep a Fleet at Sea strong enough to engage the *Danes*, before they disembark'd their Troops. But the King's *Minority* scarce permitted this Expedient to be put in practice.

In this Manner the first ten Years of this Reign were spent. It wou'd be needless to describe at length the Ravages the *Danes* committed during that time. It is easy to imagine that nothing was to be seen all over the

* This Year also the City of *London* was destroy'd by Fire, but by what Accident is unknown.

Kingdom but Murders, Conflagrations, Plunderings, and other Devastations, which, after some short Interruptions, were continually renew'd.

*The Death
of Elfer
• Duke of
Mercia.*

During these Troubles, *Elfer Duke of Mercia*, one of the best Supports of his Country, died in 983. The little Esteem he had for the Monks, after *Edgar's* Death, was in all probability the Reason of their noising Abroad, among their Votaries, that he was eaten up of Lice. *Alfrick* his Son succeeded him.

*984.
Death of
Ethelwold
Bishop of
Win-
chester.*

The next Year, *Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester*, one of *Dunstan's* Confidants, and a great Friend to the Monks, departed this Life. He is said to have founded a dozen Monasteries. If that be true, he was, no doubt, assisted by the Liberality of the two former Kings, with whom he was mightily in Favour.

*Monkery
goes to de-
cay.*

The Interest of the Monks entirely vanish'd in the Reign of *Ethelred*, by reason of the frequent Invasions of the *Danes*, and because the People's Minds were wholly taken up about their Misfortunes. They even began to call in Question the *Sanctity* of the Monks, not being able to forbear wondering, that Man who had obtain'd from Heaven so many Miracles on their own private Account, cou'd not by their Merits and Prayers, secure the Kingdom from the Calamities it lay under. On the other Hand, as their Credit with the preceding Kings had gain'd them a great Reputation, so this King's being no Friend to them, was very prejudicial to them. *Ethelred*, whose Thoughts were now turn'd to Religion, put the Monks and other Ecclesiastic upon the same Foot with the rest of his Subjects. He gave a convincing Proof how little he regarded the Clergy, in a Difference between him and the Bishop of *Rochester*. The Bishop having haughtily refus'd to comply with his Demand the King made him, he order'd the Soldiers to waste the Lands belonging to the *Cathedral* dedicated to *Andrew*. In vain did the Bishop threaten him with Vengeance from the *Apostle*, and to as little purpose did he Archibishop *Dunstan* to interpose in the Matter; *Ethelred* minded neither of them, nor wou'd he desist 'till a Sum Money was offer'd him. *Dunstan*, displeas'd to the high

Des-

Degree at these Proceedings, denounc'd against the King and his Council the Judgments of God, that were ready to fall on their Heads for presuming to lay sacrilegious Hands on the Church's Property ; but he was not regard-ed : His Credit was sunk so low, that hardly was he known to be alive, so great Care had the *new Ministry* taken to keep him under. He died quickly after, in the Year Dunstan's 990; not so much of old Age, as out of Regret for not *Death.* having that Deference and Respect paid him as formerly. 990.

Oswald, Archbishop of *York*, soon follow'd him. He was his particular Friend, and one of the three Prelates who had the Management of all Ecclesiastical Affairs during the Reign of *Edgar*. The Death of these Patrons of the Monks, a contagious Distemper, which carry'd off abundance of People, and moreover the continual Invasions of the *Danes*, put an End to the Quarrel between the *secular* and *regular Clergy*, in such a Manner, that it was never more heard of.

After the *Danes* had pillag'd the Coasts of *England* for ten Years together, they gave over their Ravages for about two Years. This intermission put the *English* in hopes, that their Enemies having turn'd their Thoughts to some other Country, wou'd for the future leave them in quiet. But their Hopes soon vanish'd : In 991, *Justin* and *Guth mund* two *Danish* Captains, landed a great Body of Troops at *Ipswich* *. Whilst they were taken up with plundering, *Brithnoth*, Duke of *East-Anglia*, advanced toward them, in hopes of surprizing them, but he found them too well prepar'd for him. He was overthrown, and his Defeat expos'd the adjacent Country to the greater Devastations. The victorious *Danes* having nothing more to fear, penetrated farther into the Country, where they committed terrible Ravages. *Ethelred* being without an Army, and in no Condition to stop their Progress, was perswaded by *Syric* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to get rid of them by giving

991.
*The Danes
invade
England
again.*

Sax. Ann.

*Ethelred
gives them
Money.*

* *Ipswich* in *Suffolk*, wherein are twelve Parish-Churches, with the Ruins of six or seven Religious Houses. In *Cambden's* Time it had fourteen. As for the Antiquity, we find no mention of it before that *Danish Invasion*.

giving them a Sum of Money *. Perhaps he wou'd have acted wiser, if in Imitation of *Alfred* and *Edgar*, he had laid out the Money in fortifying the Kingdom against their Insults. However this be, the Archbishop's Advice was look'd upon afterwards as very fatal to *England*. The Money given to this Band serv'd only for a Bait to allure others, who thought they had an equal Right to take the Advantage of the Weakness of the *English*.

993.
*Another
Danish
Fleet.*

Two Years after, another of their Fleets sailing up the *Humber*, the Pirates landed on the North-Side, and ravag'd in a merciless Manner all that belong'd to the *English* in those Quarters. *Ethelred* sent an Army against them, under the Command of three Earls, *Fræna*, *Frithestif*, and *Goodwin*. But the Generals, after they had led their Troops quite up to the Enemy, were the first that turn'd their Backs, and by their shameful Flight were the Cause of the Loss of the Army. The King had been so unwise as to confide in these three Lords, who being of *Danish* Extraction, were suspected of Treachery.

994.
*Sweyn and
Olaüs in-
vade Eng-
land.*

How great soever the Miseries might be that these Foreigners hitherto had brought on *England*, it may be affirm'd, they were nothing in Comparison of what follow'd. *Sweyn* King of *Denmark*, and *Olaüs* (a) King of *Norway*, allur'd by the good Success of their Subjects in *England*, had a mind also to have a Share of the Booty they every Year brought off from thence. To this End, having fitted out a numerous Fleet, they enter'd the *Thames*, and landed their Troops near *London*. They made several Attempts to become Masters of the City, but meeting with a braver Resistance than they expected, they retir'd. To make themselves amends for the Time they had lost before

London,

* Ten Thousand Pound. *Sax. Ann. 991.*

(a) Some pretend *Olaüs* or *Olaf* was the same with *Anlaf* mention'd in the Reigns of *Edmund* and *Edred*. But besides that the one was King of *Norway*, which can't be said of the other, *Anlaf* must have been exceeding old, since seventy Years before he was a General, Historians not carefully distinguishing the Princes that were call'd *Anlaf* or *Olaf*, made *golden* say, it was a Name that bred great Confusion in the *English* History.

Book V. 14. E T H E L R E D II.

London, they went and plunder'd Kent, Hampshire, and Sussex, threatening to lay the whole Kingdom waste. Ethelred, who had no more Conduct than Courage, not knowing how to put a stop to their Ravages, had Recourse to the same Means made use of before on a like Occasion. He bound himself by Treaty to pay a certain Sum of Money * within such a time, on Condition they left his Subjects unmolested, and departed out of the Kingdom. Matters being thus accommodated, the two foreign Kings cuss'd all Hostilities to cease, and retir'd to Southampton. A little after the King of Norway paid a Visit to Ethelred, who persuaded him to be baptiz'd, and stood Godfather to him. At his going off, Olafus oblig'd himself by Oath never to infest England more, and was as good as his Word.

Ethelred promises them a Sum of Money.

It wou'd have been happy for the English, if Sweyn, The Two Kings return Home. who departed at the same Time, wou'd have follow'd his Example; they wou'd by that Means have escap'd all those Miseries he afterwards brought on the Land. When he sail'd for Denmark he left a Fleet behind at Southampton, to keep the English in Awe, and oblige them to perform the Articles of the Treaty. After his Departure, his Admiral pres'd the Payment of the Money with great Earnestness. But as they were not over-hasty to comply with his Demands, he took their Delay for a refusal, and resolv'd to renew the War. In the mean while, to take the English off their Guard, he set sail, as if he design'd for Denmark, and on a sudden, when they least expected it, he enter'd the Severn, and after destroying the Country of the Welsh with Fire and Sword, he cross'd over the River and penetrated into Dorsetshire, where he committed the same Ravage. All the Forces that cou'd be brought against them were defeated as soon as levied. They sack'd whole Counties, it being impossible to make Head against them. In fine, finding no more Booty to be got in these Parts, they put to Sea again and landed in Kent. The Inhabitants by endeavouring to resist them, only increas'd the Fury of

Olatis turns Chri. sian.

997.
The War is renew'd.

998.
The Danes ravage England;

their Enemies, who treated them with the utmost Barbarity. To compleat their Misfortunes, a Fleet *Ethelred* had mann'd out to engage the *Danes* at Sea, was render'd useless by the Dissensions and Unskilfulness of the Commanders. In this melancholly Posture of Affairs *England* would infallibly have gone to Ruin, if the *Danes* by a lucky and unexpected Accident had not been call'd off to the Assistance of *Richard II.* Duke of *Normandy*, whom the King of *France* design'd to dispossess of his Dominions. *Ethelred* took this Opportunity to go and ravage *Cumberland*, but for what Reason is not known *. After this, he return'd to *London*, where he kept his usual Residence.

999.
Are unex-
pectedly
call'd off.

1000.

1001.
They re-
turn into
England.

The Quiet *Ethelred* enjoy'd was of no long continuance; the *Danes* being detain'd in *Normandy* no longer than was necessary to put the young Duke out of Danger, return'd into *England*. *Cornwal* felt the first Effects of their Fury; then entering *Wessex*, they became Masters of *Exeter*. The Consternation of the *English* was so great, that they made but a very faint Resistance. Whether *Ethelred* was betray'd by his Generals, or whether the long Peace the *English* had enjoyed in the preceding Reigns, had enervated their Courage, they were constantly worsted. The King himself was seiz'd with such a Dread, that he durst not venture to be present in the Battles for fear of falling into the Hands of the *Danes*, who in all Appearance wou'd have shown him no Favour. In fine, the *Danes*, ever victorious, got possession of the Isle of *Wight*, *Hampshire* and *Dorsetshire*, where they had their Magazines. From hence they made continual Incursions into

* Though not one of our *English* Historians have mention'd on whom or for what this War was made, *John Fordon* in his *Scotch History* gives this Account of it: *Ethelred* having paid large Sums to the *Danes*, sent to *Malcolm* Prince of *Cumberland*, under *Gryme* King of *Scotland*, to pay his Share; which he refusing to do, and afferting he was only bound to make War with the rest of the Kingdom when requir'd, *Ethelred* invaded his Country, on Pretence he favour'd the *Danes*; but presently after the two Princes struck up a Peace, and became Friends.

into the neighbouring Counties, without any one's daring to oppose them. *England* was then in a deplorable Condition; the *Southern* Counties were perpetually ravag'd by the foreign *Danes*, and the *Northern* Parts peopled by the same Nation, whom the *English* could not but look upon as their Enemies. They had not only refus'd to fight against the Foreigners, whom they consider'd as their Countrymen, but by joining with them, they help'd to destroy a Country they ought to have defended to the utmost of their Power, since it was become their own. In this Extremity *Ethelred*, who had no Resolution, was far from imitating the Firmness of his Ancestors, who in the like Circumstances never suffer'd their Courage to be cast down by Misfortunes. This timorous Prince, not seeing any other Way to avoid the still greater Miseries the Nation was threaten'd with, yielded to pay the *Danes* thirty thousand Pounds. This Sum, which in those Days was a very considerable one, was levied by way of Tax, to which was given the Name of *Danegeld*; that is, *Danish Money*, or *Money for the Danes**. This was the Original of that famous Tax which afterwards became so exceeding burdensome to the Nation, even for a long time after the *Danes* had quitted *England*. But the *Clergy* and *Monks* found the Means to slip their Necks out of the Collar.

The *Danes*, satisfied with these Terms, ceas'd their Ra-vages and return'd Home. However, abundance of them perceiving *England* to be a much better Country than *Den-*

*The misera-
ble Con-
dition of
England.*

*Origin of
Danegeld.*

*The Danes
return
Home, but
several
stay be-
hind;*

* For the Payment of this Money every *Hide* of Land was tax'd yearly twelve Pence. A *Hide* of Land is such a Quantity of Land as may be plough'd with one Plough in a Year. *Bede* reckons it as much as will maintain a Family. Some say it was a hundred Acres, others that it contain'd no certain Number of Acres. The Distribution of *England* by *Hides of Land* is very Antient, mention being made of it in the *Laws of Ina*. *Danegeld* was the first Land-Tax in *England*. It was afterwards call'd *Hydagium*, which Name remain'd afterwards upon all Taxes and *Subsidies* impos'd on Lands. The *Normans* call'd these sometimes *Taxes*, sometimes *Tallages*, and *Auxilia et Subsidia*. The *Saxon* Kings before this had their Levies of Money and *Personal Services*, towards the building and repairing Cities, Castles, Bridges, Military Expeditions, &c. which from the Word *Bote*, that is, repair, were term'd *Burghbote*, *Brigbote*, *Heregeld*, &c.

*Who be
have info-
lantly:*

*Are thence
call'd Lord
Danes.*

*Ethelred
marries
Emma of
Norman-
dy.*

mark, staid behind, and liv'd among the *English*. The Number indeed was not so great as to render them very formidable, especially considering they were dispers'd i and down: But then they were back'd by their Countrymen in *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*. Besides, the *English* dreaded nothing so much as the renewing the War which made the *Danes* behave in a very insolent Manner. They did what they pleas'd, without any one's daring to controul them. The *English*, dispirited by the past Calamities, were afraid of giving the least Occasion of drawing on the Kingdom fresh Invasions. Thus while the *Danes* abounding in Wealth and Ease, pass'd their Time agreeably, the *English* were forc'd to labour and toil incessantly, in order to satisfy the Avarice of their new Masters. In so great Fear did they stand of the *Danes*: over the Kingdom, that they gave them the Appellation *Lord-Danes*. The Word it self, as well as the Meaning of it, was alter'd a little after. At this Day in some Parts of *England* a rich idle *Man*, that takes upon him, is by way of Derision call'd a *Lurdane*. But notwithstanding the Alteration, the Traces of its original Signification are still visible in the *Word*.

*Elgiva, Ethelred's Queen, dying, whilst the Danes were thus domineering in England, the King demanded Emma the Sister of Richard II. Duke of Normandy, in Marriage. His Request being granted, and the Marriage consummated, he was mightily elated upon it, depending upon the Assistance of the Duke his Brother-in-law, whenever there shou'd be occasion. The Thoughts of the new Alliance made him resolve upon the barbarous and violent Expedient of getting rid of the *Danes* by a general Massacre. To this End, he sent Orders so privately throughq*

* She was call'd from her extraordinary Beauty, *The Pearl of Normandy.* *Ran. Higd.* l. 6.

* Huntingdon says, that he himself, when a Child, heard it from certain old Men, that by the King's Command Letters were privately dispatch'd all over *England*, to make away the *Danes* in one Night. The *Saxon Annals* add, it was because the King was told the *Danes* design'd to deprive him and his Nobles of their Lives, and to seize the Kingdom. *Anno MII.*

throughout the Kingdom, that in one Day all the *Danes* ^{Massacre}, were slain with such implacable Fury and Cruelty, that the ^{of the} Particulars can't be read without Horror *. *Sweyn's Sister* **, who was marry'd to an *English* Lord, having at first been spar'd, *Ethelred* was so barbarous as to have her beheaded, after he had order'd her Children to be slain before her Face. The cruel Treatment of this Princess, who met her Death with an heroick Constancy, was severely reveng'd shortly after.

This bloody Tragedy, which was acted on the 13th of November 1002 **, was very like the Massacre of the *Romans* by the *Britons* under *Boadicea*; not only the same Barbarities, but the same Consequences also attended both. The *English* as well as the old *Britons*, were so far from throwing off their Yoak by these unjust Means, that they serv'd only to make it the more heavy and insupportable. Althotigh Historians assure us, that all the *Danes* in *England* were massacred on this Occasion, it is hard to conceive how this cou'd be brought about in *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*, where the *Danes* were vastly the Majority. Was it possible that in those Parts they shou'd stand still to have their Throats cut, without making any Resistance worth Notice? Hence I am of Opinion, that by all the *Danes*, we are to understand only those that were lately settled in *England*, and dispers'd in *Wessex* and *Mercia*.

Ethelred was perswaded these bloody Proceedings, whereby so many Thousands lost their Lives, wou'd procure him Peace. He cou'd not imagine the *Danes* wou'd ever think again of invading *England*. At least, he hop'd, in case the desire of Revenge brought them thither, the *English* wou'd see the Necessity of shedding the last drop of their

* Among other Cruelties, the *Danish* Women were plac'd in Holes in the Earth, as deep as their Waistes, and then had their Breasts torn off by Mastiff Dogs. See *Job. Walling*, p. 547. *Edit. Gale*.

** Her Name was *Gunilda*; she is said to have been married to a noble *Dane* of great Power and Wealth, who had been settled for some Time in *England*, his Name was *Paleng*. She was a Christian, and had been a great Instrument in making Peace between the *English* and *Danes*.

** On the Feast of St. *Bricius*.

Blood to prevent falling into the Hands of their ince
Enemies. He relied moreover on the Assistance of
Brother-in-law the Duke of *Normandy*, a powerful Pri
and whose Interest it was to stand by him. But su
detestable Piece of Policy rarely produces the desired
fects, or rather seldom fails of ending in the Ruin of
Projector. God, who beholds such tragical Actions v
Abomination, does not often let them go unpunished.
this we have an instance in the Miseries that befel *Ethe*
and his Subjects, who were almost as deep in the Guile
their King.

**Sweyn re
solves upon
Revenge.** *Sweyn* had the News of this Massacre brought him
some *Danes*, who escap'd by getting on Board a Vessel
dy to sail for *Denmark*. The Relation they gave of
Cruelties of the *English* towards the *Danes* was suffic
to excite him to a Revenge. But when he heard of
Sister's Death, and the barbarous Manner of it, he
feiz'd with a raging Fury. He solemnly swore, he wo
never rest till he had reveng'd so bloody an Outrage.
was not therefore with a Design to plunder that he m
a second Expedition into *England*, but to destroy
whole Country with Fire and Sword. In the m
while, as he did not doubt but *Ethelred* had taken all
cessary Measures for his Defence, he did not think fit
set sail without being sure beforehand of a Place where
might safely land his Troops. *Cornwall* was then
vern'd by Earl *Hugh*, a *Norman*, whom the Queen
plac'd in that Post as a Man the King might confide
To this Governor *Sweyn* dispatch'd a faithful Messeng
to endeavour to bring him over to his Interest, by
Offer of a great Reward. *Hugh* yielded to the Tempt
ation, promis'd to admit the *Danish* Fleet into his Po
and to suffer the Troops to land without Molestation.

**Sweyn
lands in
Cornwal,
and burns
Exeter.** Upon this, *Sweyn* having equip'd a Fleet of 300 S
landed in *Cornwall* with a numerous Army, and meet
with no Opposition march'd directly towards *Exeter*. As t
City was in no Apprehension of being attack'd, he eas
became Master of it, and after he had put the Inha
tants to the Sword, reduc'd it to Ashes. This first E

ploit was follow'd by several others, no less fatal to *England*. Wherever *Sweyn* carried his Arms, Revenge and not Conquest being his chief Aim, he destroy'd all with Fire and Sword. Towards the End of the Summer, being inform'd *Alfric* Duke of *Mercia* was advancing with a powerful Army, in order to give him Battle, he resolv'd to march towards him. *Ethelred* acted very imprudently in giving the Command of his Army to this Lord, whom he had formerly banish'd. the Kingdom out of meer Caprice, and whose Son's Eyes he had order'd to be put out *. *Sax. Ann.* The Remembrance of this Injury being still fresh in the Duke's Mind, he was pleas'd to find he had an opportunity in his Hands to revenge it. As soon as he was in Sight of the Enemy, he feign'd himself sick on a sudden, and pretending he was not in a Condition to fight, order'd the Army to retreat, but took Care it shou'd be done in such Disorder, that the *Danes* found no great Difficulty to put them to Rout. After which *Sweyn* took several Towns, from whence he carry'd off a prodigious Booty. *Sweyn re-tires.* But as he had no Design to keep them, he set them on Fire, and went and pass'd the Winter in *Denmark*.

*The Eng-
lish be-
tray'd.*

The Calm *England* enjoy'd upon *Sweyn*'s going off, *He returns
and burns
Norwich
and Thet-
ford.* lasted not long. In the following Spring he landed in *East-Anglia*, and taking *Norwich*, burnt the whole Town to the Ground. *Ulfketel*, Governor of *East-Anglia*, not being in a Condition to resist him, gave him a great Sum of Money, to prevent his doing any farther Mischief. But upon receipt of the Money *Sweyn* breaks the Treaty, and goes and takes *Thetford* by Surprize, a Town then of great Note, and served it in the same Manner as he had done *Norwich*. Incens'd at this Breach of Faith, *Ulfketel* levied some Troops with great Expedition, and went and posted himself between the *Danish* Army and Fleet. *Sweyn* perceiving he had a Design of cutting off his Retreat to his Ships, march'd towards him to give him Battle, before he shou'd be reinforc'd with more Troops. He found the

* Though the *Annals* tell us not the Reason, *Malmesbury* says it was for his Father's Perfidiousness, who had revolted several Times.

*Defeats
the Duke of
East-An-
glia.*

1004.

*Ethelred
betray'd on
all Hands.*

1005.
*Famine in
England,
upon which
Sweyn re-
tires.*

the *English* encamp'd in an advantagious Manner, resolutely bent to stand their Ground, and do their utmost in fence of their Goods and Chattels, which their Enemis were carrying off before their Face. The ill Fortun the *English* was such, that it was next to impossible to shou'd so much as once get the better. The *Danes* gain'd a signal Victory, though not without great Loss on their Side. They even own'd they were never in so much Danger of being defeated *. *Wifketol*, though of Danish Race, was the faithfulest as well as bravest of all Ethelred Subjects, and did him the best Service. But the o Lords were very different from him. All Historian agree, *Ethelred* was betray'd by all about him. *Sweyn* his Spies not only in his Court, but in his very Council. The *Great Men*, for the most Part, were brib'd, or least there was scarce one that serv'd the King heartily. Account of the little Regard they had for him. Whenever Councils were held to consider of the Way and Measures of withstanding the *Danes*, the Dissentions between Nobles, too common in the Courts of Princes so little suspected, prevented them from coming to any Resolution or from putting what was concluded upon in Execution. The Avarice of the Clergy, particularly of the Monks, very much help'd forward the general Confusion. notwithstanding their great Riches, they refus'd to contril their Quota in Defence of the Kingdom, pleading their Privileges and Immunities, as if they were not at all concerned in the Danger. It is no wonder therefore the *Danes* obtain'd so many Victories in a Country so ill fended by them, who were so much concern'd in its Preservation. The Famine that happen'd presently after wou'd have compleated the Misfortunes of the *English* had it not unexpectedly prov'd the Occasion of *Sweyn's* turning to *Denmark* for want of necessary Subsistence.

U

* The *Saxon Annals* tell us, the Fight was very sharp, and ended a great Slaughter on both Sides, wherein abundance of the English Nobility were kill'd. But if all the *English* Forces had been there, the *Danes* had never reach'd their Ships. *Anno MIV.*

Upon the Retreat of the *Danes* and ceasing of the *Famine*, the *English* began to entertain hopes of enjoying some Tranquillity, when another *Danish* Fleet arriv'd at *Sandwich* in *Kent*, *Ethelred* immediately levied an Army to give the new Invaders Battle: But after having committed some Ravages, they were retir'd to the Isle of *Thanet*, where it was not possible to attack them. They knew the *English* Army, consisting only of *Volunteers* who serv'd at their own Expence, wou'd soon disband themselves, as it actually fell out. Winter coming on, the *English* return'd to their Homes, it not being in the Power of the King to keep them any longer together. Then the *Danes*, issuing out from their Retreat, began their Ravages in *Kent* and the neighbouring *Counties*, well assur'd they shou'd meet with no Opposition. *Ethelred* had no other Course to take to put a Stop to the Ruin the whole Kingdom was threatned with, but to buy them off with the Sum of thirty Thousand Pounds, with which they were very well satisfied.

Being thus got rid of the *Danes*, the King celebrated the Wedding of one of his Daughters with *Edrick* Sirnam'd *Streas* (a), a very powerful Lord, whom he had just made Duke of *Mercia*. If hitherto *Ethelred* had liv'd in continual Fears and Troubles, it was nothing in comparison of the Misfortunes he drew on himself by this fatal Marriage. He had inconsiderately taken into his Family a Traitor sold to the *Danes*, who never fail'd on all occasions to betray the King and Kingdom to Foreigners.

Hardly was a Year pass'd over since the last Treaty with the *Danes*, but they demanded the same Sum again, pretending it was a yearly Tribute *Ethelred* had oblig'd himself to pay. This Demand was accompanied with Threats of destroying the whole Kingdom with Fire and Sword, if the Money was not immediately paid. These Proceedings of the *Danes* having convinc'd the King and his Council, that there was no possibility of contending their infatiable

*Another
Danish
Fleet.*

*The King
marries his
Daughter
to Edrick,
who proves
a Traitor.*

1008.
*Ethelred
sets out a
great Fleet.*

(a) *Camden* says, *Streas* signifies *the Acquirer*, and therefore it was not a Proper, but a Sir-name only.

infatiable Avarice, it was resolved upon, that the best wou'd be to expend the Money in fitting out a good Fleet to defend the Kingdom from their Incursions. Nece made them put this Resolution so speedily in Practice, quickly after, a Fleet well-mann'd and victuall'd was ready, the Command of which was given by the Kin *Brithbrick*, Brother to *Edrick Sceon Duke of Mercia*. These Measures oblig'd the *Danes* to retire, for Fear of being compell'd to a Sea Engagement, which their Ships were not so fit for as the *English* ones *.

The Fleet comes to nothing.

The first thing *Brithbrick* did, after his being made miral, was, to use all his Interest to ruin *Ulnoth*, a man of distinguish'd Quality, but his Enemy. He accus'd him to the King of I know not what Crimes, which *Ulnoth* did not think fit to purge himself of by a publick Tryal, being very sensible a Party was formed to get condemn'd. He resolv'd therefore upon a voluntary punishment, in order to screen himself from the Persecution of his Enemy, and in going off persuad'd nine Captains to follow him with their Ships. After which he infest'd the *English* Coasts, and did as much Mischief as the *Danes* could do. *Brithbrick*, enraged at his Escape, and at his daring to have thus, put to Sea with eighty Sail to give him Chase and endeavour to seize him alive or dead. But he met with so violent a Storm, that the greatest Part of his Fleet were lost or fell into the Hands of *Ulnoth*. Thus this Fleet, which cou'd not be fitted out, without a prodigious Expence, came to nothing, by the private Quarrel of the Admiral. The Loss became still more irretrievable by the Dissensions among the Officers, several of whom join'd *Ulnoth*.

* The Saxon Annals tell us, this was the largest and best Fleet England had ever seen. It was built after this manner, all England; every 310 Hides of Land were oblig'd to find one and every eight Hides a Helmet and Breast-plate, An. M. MIX. It must be observ'd that the Annals tell us, the sums paid to the *Danes*, as well as this Tax for building a Fleet were all levied with the joint Consent of the King and his Council, or *Witena-Gemot*.

In the mean Time the *Danes* took the Advantage of these intestine Broils. The next Spring two of their Fleets arriv'd in *England*, one in *East-Anglia*, under *Turkil*, another in the Isle of *Thanet*, under *Heming* and *Anlaf*. These Leaders joining Forces in *Kent*, after they had plunder'd the Country, laid Siege to *Canterbury*. The City wou'd infallibly have fallen into the Hands of the *Danes*, if the Inhabitants had not bought a Peace with a large Sum of Money *.

Whilst the *Danes* were taken up in ravaging *Kent*, *E- Ethelred drew an Army together to make Head against them. As soon as he was in a Condition to do it, he posted himself between them and their Ships, to prevent their embarking and carrying off their Booty. In all Appearance, he wou'd have succeeded, and perhaps have had some further considerable Advantage over Them, seeing he was superior to them in Numbers, if *Edrick* had not found the means to bring off the *Danes* at this Pinch. The Traitor perceiving the Danger they were in, represented to the King, his Father-in-Law, that it wou'd be much better to let them retire than hazard a Battle, which might prove fatal to him. This pernicious Ad- vice made such an Impression on the Mind of the King, that he suffer'd them to march by with all their Plunder unmolested. But instead of sailing for *Denmark*, as 'twas hop'd, they threw themselves into the Isle of *Thanet*; from whence, during the whole Winter, they made Incursions into the neighbouring *Counties*. They even made several Attempts upon *London*; but were always repuls'd. In the mean while, *Ulfketel* Duke of *East-Anglia*, having a mind to try the Fortune of a Battle once more in Defence of his Government, had the Ill-luck to be overthrown, and by that means left them Masters of the Country.*

1009.
Danes at
rise in
Kent.
Sim. Du-
helm.

Ethelred
levies an
Army;

but suffers
the Danes
to pass by
him unmole-
sted.

Ulfketel
defeated.

The Danes

make
some of
their
Troops, and
become

Masters of
almost all
Wessex.

Hitherto the *Danes* had wanted *Cavalry*, by reason of the Difficulty of transporting Horses from *Denmark*. But as soon as they were in possession of *East-Anglia*, a

* Three Thousand Pounds. *Sax. Ann. M.IX.*

Country abounding with Horses, they mounted Part of their Troops, by whose means they extended their Conquests. Shortly after they subdued *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Hertfordshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire* *, *Bedfordsire*, *Cambridgeshire*, *Huntingtonshire*, *Northamptonshire*, *Kent*, *Surry*, *Sussex*, *Hampshire*, *Wiltshire*, and *Devonshire*; whilst *Ethelred*, who had scarce any Thing left, kept himself shut up in *London*, without daring to take the Field in order to stop their Progress. In all the above-nam'd Countries, *London* and *Canterbury* were the only Places not in the Power of the *Danes*. But at length they

1012.

They burn Canterbury. attack'd the last of these so vigorously, that they took plunder'd, and reduc'd it to Ashes. *Elphegus* the Archbishop being taken Prisoner, was afterwards murder'd by these Barbarians *. They proceeded with the same Cruelty against the Monks of St. *Augustin's*, whom they put under a *Decimation*, destroying nine Parts in Ten **.

England being reduc'd to this deplorable State, all Great Men of the Kingdom assembled at *London*, w^t the King, to consult what was to be done in the present Case. The best Expedient they cou'd think of, was to bribe them with a Sum of Money to leave the Kingdom. The Sum agreed upon amounted to 48,000 Pounds; on the receipt of which they went off with their Booty.

1013.

Tho' the Retreat of the Danes had cost England dear, the People thought themselves very happy in being turned into England.

* Oxford being burnt that Year by the *Danes*, all Studies carried there till the Year 1133. *Tho. Redburn.*

** He was kill'd at Greenwich, to which Place, the Station of their Ships, they had brought him Prisoner. And therefore in the present Church of Greenwich, on the top of the Partition Wall, between the Nave of the Church and the Chancel is this Inscription, *Church was erected and dedicated to the Glory of God, and the Memory of St. Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, here slain by the Danes cause he wou'd not ransome his Life by an unreasonable Sum of Money. An. 1012.* He was first bury'd at St. Paul's in *London*, and afterwards remov'd to *Canterbury*. He was honour'd as a Martyr, stands in the *Roman Martyrology* on the 19th of April.

** Florence of Worcester says, the Burghers were serv'd in the manner; so that only four Monks, and about 800 Laymen were alive.

rid of their Enemies, hoping they shou'd repair by a Peace, the Damages they had sustain'd by the War. But they were far from seeing as yet the end of their Miseries. Hardly had they enjoy'd any Quiet, when News came that *Sweyn* * was enter'd the *Humber* with a powerful Fleet, threatening the whole Kingdom with Ruin and Destruction. As this Prince found the Country unprovided with an Army, and in no Condition to defend itself, he quickly became Master of *Northumberland*, *East-Anglia*, in a word, of all the *Counties* lying North of *Watling-street* **. But not contented with this, he takes Hostages of all the principal Towns ; and leaving his Son *Canute* to take care of the conquer'd *Counties*, he advances Southward, and on a sudden lays Siege to *London*, where *Ethelred* had shut himself up. Tho' he was but ill provided to besiege in Form a Place of that Importance, he imagin'd the Citizens wou'd be terrified at his Menaces. But finding they were not to be work'd upon that way, he desisted from his Enterprize, and went and ravag'd the South Parts of *Wessex*, where there were none to oppose him. However, as he cou'd not rest satisfied whilst *London* was not in his Power, he resolv'd to besiege it once more. But whilst he was making Preparations for the Siege, he had Information of *Ethelred's* being gone from thence. This unfortunate Prince dreading to fall into the Hands of an Enemy whom he had so heinously injur'd, and perceiving he was not safe in *London*, retir'd into *Normandy* with all his Family. Whereupon the *Londoners* being left to take care of themselves, judg'd it wou'd be a rash Undertaking to maintain alone the *Rights* of a Prince that had deserted them. They came therefore to a Resolution of submitting to the King of *Denmark*, to whom all the rest of the Kingdom was already subject. Presently after the Surrender of *London*, *Sweyn* was proclaim'd King of Eng-

*He becomes
Master of
several
Counties.*

* See note
p. 103, and
376.

* The English Historians have not told us the Reason why *Sweyn* staid away so long, as from 1005 to 1013, eight Years.

15. SWEYN King of Denmark

TH E first Act of Sovereignty of the new King was the laying an immense Tax on the King for the Payment of the *Danish* Troops, who had assist him in his Conquests. No Historian mentions the Coronation of this Prince. Perhaps he omitted this Solennity, as believing it of little moment, or it may be, wholly taken up with Matters of greater Importance, during his short Reign, which lasted not quite a Year. Some say he died a natural Death, being choak'd by Rheum. Others say he was poison'd: Whatever was Cause, 'tis certain he died suddenly. This gave Opportunity to the *Legend-Writers* to say he was kill'd with Club or Lance by St. Edmund, formerly King of *Anglia*. It is pretended, this *Saint* did it to save Town, where his Body lay buried *, from being plunder'd for refusing to pay the Tax impos'd by the King. The shortness of his Reign, and perhaps his being crown'd, are the Reasons Historians, for the most part, have not reckon'd this Prince in the Number of Kings of *England*.

1014.
He dies suddenly.

ETHELRED II. restor'd.

ETHELRED II. **U**PON the Death of *Sweyn*, the *Danes* proclaimed *Canute* his Son, King of *England*. But the *English* recall'd *Ethelred*, promising to support him on Throne, against all the Attempts of the *Danes*, whose Government was become insupportable. *Ethelred* at first did not know how to trust to their Promises, being preher

1014.
Sax. Ann.

* St. Edmundbury.

prehensive of their having a Design to deliver him up into the Hands of his Enemies. But the good Reception his Sons met with, whom he had sent before to sound the People's Inclinations, giving him Encouragement, he return'd to *England*. He was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy ; and his Subjects swore *Allegiance* to him a-new, as if he had but just began to Reign, his Flight having been look'd upon as a sort of *Abdication* of the Crown. For his Part, he gave his word to reform his irregular Proceedings in the Administration of his Government before his going off. The Eagerness of the *English* to throw off a Foreign Yoke, made them flock to the King with such Zeal and Haste, that he soon found himself at the Head of a powerful Army. His first Expedition plainly show'd his Misfortunes had made no Alteration in him. Instead of marching against the *Danes*, he led his Forces against the Men of *Lindsey**, who had given him some cause of Disgust. After he had taken his Revenge of them, he turn'd his Army against the *Danes*, who little expected so sudden a Revolution. Tho' *Canute* had on his Side all the *Danes*, and the same Forces his Father *Sweyn* had conquer'd *England* with, yet he did not think fit to hazard a Battle. Accordingly, before *Ethelred* had advanc'd near enough to oblige him to come to an Engagement, he led his Troops to the Sea-side, and embarking them, set sail for *Denmark*. But before he went off, he order'd the Hands and Feet of the Hostages he had in his Power, to be cut off, leaving them thus mangled on the Shore.

The Retreat of this Prince can't but seem strange, since he had never been worsted, and besides, had many strong Places still in his Hands. It is no less to be wonder'd at, that the *English* Historians shou'd have given us no Reason for this his sudden going off. But what

*He cha-
bles the
Lindsey-
men.*

*Canute re-
turns into
Denmark:
The Reason
of it.*

*The Cause
of his leav-
ing Eng-
land.*

* One of the three Divisions of *Lincolnshire*, viz. *Holland*, *Kesteven*, and *Lindsey*. The *Saxon Annals* tell us, the Men of *Lindsey* had provided the *Danes* with Horses, and design'd to join with them in their Ravages. *An. MXIV.*

what the *English* History omits, is supplied by the *nish*. We are inform'd that *Canswe* had a younger Brother, nam'd *Harold*, who having been made Regent in the absence of his Father *Sweyn*, feiz'd upon the Kingdom for himself. 'Twas this that oblig'd *Canswe* to *England* in so hasty a manner, as seem'd rather to proceed from his Fears, than to be founded, as it was, upon Politicks. He cou'd not think it his best to abandon the Kingdom of his Ancestors, in order to endeavour to keep his Footing in a strange Country newly conquer'd and dispos'd to a general Revolt. The Truth is, had the falling off of the *English* engag'd him in a long War, what hopes of Succours cou'd have expected from *Denmark*, whilst the Kingdom was in the Hands of his Brother? He made it but too well afterwards, when having settled his Affairs in *North*, he return'd with his victorious Troops to *England*, that he was incapable of the Fears that were to his Charge.

*Avarice
and Cruelty of Ethelred.*

*Puts two
Earls to
Death for
their Estates.*

As soon as *Ethelred* saw himself freed from the *Danes*, he never troubled himself about the Performance of the Promise he had made to his Subjects. On the contrary, he fell to his old Courses, and impos'd, on several occasions, excessive Taxes, which rais'd great Murmur both among the Nobles and People.

To these Occasions of publick Complaint, he added others of a more private Nature, which destroy'd all Hopes People had entertain'd of his Amendment. *Morard* and *Sifferth*, Lords of *Danish* Extraction, who all along firmly adher'd to the Interest of the King, their new Country, were made a Sacrifice to his Avarice. To draw them into the Snare laid for them, the King conven'd a *Great Council* at *Oxford*, where caus'd them to be murder'd; upon which he feiz'd on their Estates, as if they had been condemn'd by common Forms of Justice *. *Algitha*, Widow to

* *Florence of Worcester*, and *Matthew Westminister* relate, that two Earls were privately accus'd by *Edrick*, who gap'd after

forth, was shut up in a Monastery, to which Confinement she was indebted for her after-Greatness. *Edmund*, the King's eldest Son, passing by that Way some time after, had a Mind to see a Lady so renown'd for her Beauty, and fell so desperately in Love with her, that he married her, even against his Father's Consent.

The Marriage of his
Son Edmund.

The Calm *England* enjoy'd upon the going off of the *Danes*, lasted but one Year. *Canute* having got Possession of the Throne of *Denmark*, departed forthwith for *England*, and when he was least expected, landed a numerous Army at *Sandwich*. *Ethelred* being then out of order, *Edmund* his Son, and *Streon* Duke of *Mercia*, his Son-in-law, had the Command of the Army against the *Danes*. *Edmund* soon perceiv'd his Brother-in-law was a Friend to *Canute*. This Discovery put him upon inventing some Pretence to divide the Army into two Bodies, that he might be separated from him, not daring to punish the Traitor, for fear of exciting a Revolt in *Mercia*, where *Streon*'s Power was exceeding great. Besides, he dreaded his Father's Displeasure, who wou'd never be perswaded that his Son-in-law held Intelligence with the *Danes*. *Canute* taking the Advantage of this Division of the Army, made large Conquests immediately; and the perfidious *Edrick*, who had join'd *Edmund* with no other View but to betray him, finding he had lost his Aim, openly declar'd for *Canute*. This wou'd have been rather an Advantage than a Detriment to the King's Affairs, if the Traitor had not carried off with him a considerable Body of Troops, with 40 Ships

1016.
Canute re-
turns to
England:

Is favour'd
by Streon.

Estates, of treasonable Practices against *Ethelred*, by whose Order *Edrick* invited them to a Feast, where he caus'd them to be treacherously murder'd. Their Dependents, who went about to revenge their Deaths, were forc'd to fly into St. *Frideswide*'s Church in *Oxford*, which being set on Fire, they perish'd in the Flames. But the King, repenting of his Cruelty, caus'd the Church to be rebuilt. In this, and several other Particulars, it is plain, that *Ethelred* was egg'd on by the treacherous *Edrick*, to make him odious to the People; and that he was not so bad as is represented, appears from the good Laws he made, which are still extant. He was so particularly careful of the due Execution of Justice, that having found one *Walgaen*, a Judge, whom he loved, guilty of Injustice, he depos'd him from his Office.

Ships of War. This Desertion, which prov'd of Moment to *Canute*, was a mortal Wound to *Ethelred*. People in Shoals went over to the *Danes*, in Proportion the King's Affairs went to decay. Even *Wessex* i
was not out of Danger.

Canute subdues all Mercia;

and resolves upon attacking Wessex.

Ethelred's Fears:

He promises to head the Army.

Canute's Expectations being daily rais'd by these cresses, he turn'd his Arms against those of the *Mercians* who continued in their Allegiance to the King, at length, with the Assistance of *Streon*, entirely sub them. After which he resolv'd upon attacking *Ethelred* in *Wessex*. He had the more reason to hope for Success in this Enterprize, because *Edrick* had slyly instill'd into *Mercians* that were in the *English* Army, the Notion it was a Sin to bear Arms against a Prince that was in possession of their Country. All that *Edmund* cou'd tell them to was, that they wou'd follow the King where he should command them in Person, but refus'd to fight under any other General. In this Extremity, *Edmund* endeavour'd to the utmost of his Power to persuade the King, his Father, who feign'd himself sick at *London*, to give upon him the Command of the Army. But the more *Ethelred* was press'd to this, the more he was confirm'd in his Suspicion of their having a Design to deliver him to the *Danes*, being persuaded that the *English* had no other way to make their Peace with them. As he durst not quit *London*, where he imagin'd himself safe, he refus'd to go to the Army; and the Prince his Son had the Motion to see his Troops disperse, without having it in his Power to oblige them to stand a Battle. In the meantime, *Canute* taking the Advantage of these Disorders enlarg'd his Conquests with great Rapidity.

In these wretched Circumstances, *Edmund* saw there was nothing to be done but to go himself to *London*, endeavour to persuade the King to head the Army. He prevail'd at last with great Difficulty, and by his extraordinary Care, rais'd another Army more numerous than former. His Design was to give *Canute* Battle, persuas as he was, that one fortunate Blow wou'd restore the affairs of the *English*. *Ethelred* came to the Army a

prom

promis'd ; but he was no sooner there, but his old Fears seiz'd him. Whether he had any Grounds for his Suspition, or whether it was instill'd into him by the Traytors that were always about his Person, he made a very short stay, returning to *London* with all imaginable Speed. After his Departure, the Army being much weaken'd by the Retreat of the *Mercians*, who obstinately refus'd to fight without the King at their Head, *Edmund* was oblig'd to keep at a Distance from the *Danes*, for fear of engaging upon unequal Terms. Then *Canute* finding none to oppose him, became Master of several *Counties* in *Wessex*, and soon found himself in a Condition to compleat the Conquest of the whole Kingdom.

Edmund perceiving it was not in his Power to stop the Progress of the Enemy, resolv'd upon going to join *Uthred* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had levied some Troops in the *North*. They ravag'd together those Parts of the Country that sided with the *Danes*, whilst *Canute* and the Duke of *Mercia* laid waste the *Southern Counties* that persisted in their Obedience to *Ethelred*. But *Canute* did not suffer his Friends to be expos'd long to the Ravages of the *English*. The Moment he was inform'd of what was doing in the *North*, he march'd thither with the utmost Expedition, and compell'd *Edmund* and *Uthred* to retreat into *Lancashire*; where they were not very secure. *Uthred*, finding he was no Match for *Canute*, thought it his best way to submit to the *Danish King*, who continued him in his Government, though but for a little while. As he plainly saw the Earl had chang'd Sides purely by Compulsions, and that he had reason to fear he wou'd not long remain faithful, he caus'd him to be put to Death, and plac'd a *Danish Lord*, nam'd *Erick*, in his Room.

Edmund being at a loss what to do, retir'd to his Father at *London*, and earnestly press'd him to exert himself on the present Occasion; but all to no purpose. *Ethelred*, who till then had feign'd himself sick, fell dangerously ill in good earnest, and died soon after in the 50th Year of his Age, and the 37th of his Reign. Never was *England*

in a more deplorable State, than in the Reign of 1 Prince.

His Issue.

He had by his first Wife *Elgiva*, *Edmund*, who 1 ceded him, *Athelstan*, who died in his Childhood, a ther Son call'd *Edwy*, and three Daughters. *Edgiva*, eldest, was married to an *English* Earl, who was slain Battle. *Edgith* his second, had the Misfortune to fall the Lot of the Traytor *Edric Duke of Mercia*. *Eenna* the youngest, was Wife to *Uthred Earl of Northa berland*. By *Emma of Normandy* his second Wife, had *Alfred* and *Edward*, and a Daughter nam'd *Godiva*, w was first married to *Walter Earl of Mantes*, and afterwa to *Eustachius Earl of Bulloin*.

Ethelred has the Surname of *the Unready* given him Historians, either because he was often surpriz'd by *Danes*, or because he was never *Ready* when he was to to the Wars. At his coming to the Crown, he found Kingdom in a rich and flourishing Condition, but left at his Death in extream Poverty and Desolation.

16. EDMUND II. Sirnam'd, Ironside.

*Edmund
proclaim'd
King by the
English.
The Danes
declare for
Canute.*

AFTER *Ethelred's* Death, the City of *Lond*
and all the Lords there present, proclaim'd *Edmu*
his Son King of *England*, who had already given sigi
Proofs of his Courage and Conduct. But the *Danes*, a
all the *Counties* in their Possession, declar'd for *Canute*
However, as the *English* obey'd him against their Wil
abundance of them came over to *Edmund*, whom th
look'd upon as their lawful Prince, though they had be
constrain'd to take their Oaths to his Rival. By th
mea

* *Simeon of Durham*, and others, say, that the Bishops, Abbots, a
many of the *English* Nobles, coming to *Southampton*, abjur'd the Ra
of *Ethelred*, at the same time they chose *Canute* for their King, a
swore Fealty to him; who also swore to them in Matters *Ecclesiastic*
and *Civil*, to be their faithful Lord.

means the two Kings were more upon a Level; the which occasion'd many Engagements with various Success, that serv'd only to prolong the War, but not to decide the Quarrel. The City of *London* being a great Support to *Edmund*, the *Danish* King thought if he could but take it from him, he shou'd, by depriving him of his main Dependance, quickly put an End to the War. With this View, whilst *Edmund* was elsewhere employ'd, he march'd towards *London*, and sitting down before it, vigorously push'd on the Siege. But the brave Resistance of the Citizens having given *Edmund* time to throw in some Recruits, from the other Side of the *Thames*, *Canute* saw himself oblig'd to desist from his Enterprize. Having thus lost his Aim, he us'd abundance of Stratagems to surprize the Enemy, or to draw him off from *London*. This last Project taking, he went and laid Siege a second time to the City. But he met with the same Difficulties as before, the Inhabitants defended themselves so obstinately, that *Edmund* had time to come to their Relief.

Canute, enrag'd to see his Measures thus broken, suddenly rais'd the Siege, in order to give *Edmund* Battle, who was no less desirous of deciding the Quarrel by one single Action, and therefore instead of retreating, march'd towards him. In this Battle, which was a very bloody one, they both gave signal Proofs of their Conduct and Courage, without either of them being able to make Victory incline to his Side. After a long Fight, the two Armies were obliged to part with equal Loss. The *English* Army however had like to have been worsted by the Artifice of *Edric Streon*, who was on the Side of the *Danes*. This Lord perceiving that the *English* Troops, contrary to his Expectation, fought in such a Manner as made the Victory dubious, cut off the Head of one *Osmer* a Soldier, who very much resembled *Edmund*, and fixing it on the top of his Lance, advanc'd to the foremost Ranks, and exposing it to the view of the *English*, cry'd out aloud, *Fly, fly, you Scoundrels, behold the Head of your King, in whom you trust.* The *English* were Thunder-struck at this Sight, which wou'd have occa-

A Battle,
where nei-
ther Side
had the
Victory.

Artifice of
Edric to
dishearten
the Eng-
lish.

on'd their Defeat, had not the King shown himself his Helmet off, to his astonish'd Troops, and by means rais'd their Courage again, which the belief of Death had begun to abate. The Battle having lasted Night, without any visible Advantage on either side, *Edmund* prepar'd to renew the Fight next Morning. But *Canute*, who had other Designs in view, march'd during the Night *. He retreated to his Fleet, having embark'd his Men, row'd along the Coast some Time, to amuse the Enemy, who cou'd not guess at his Intentions. When he thought he had put *Edmund* upon a wrong Scent, he landed his Forces, and went besieg'd *London* a third time. But succeeding no better than formerly, he march'd off elsewhere.

*Canute with-
draws in
the Night;*

*and besieg-
es London
again
without
Success.*

*Five Bat-
tles be-
tween Ed-
mund and
Canute
within one
Year.*

1016.

*The fatal
Advice of
Edric to
the King.*

The Particulars of this War wou'd be curious enough if it were possible to give a clear Account of them. We meet with nothing but Confusion in this Part of the English History. What may be gathered from Historians for certain, is this, that the two contending Princes fought within the space of one Year, five pitch'd Battles. One of which wou'd have infallibly prov'd fatal to *Canute*, had it not been for the pernicious Advice of *Edric Streon*, who continually changing Sides, was then in the English Army. *Edmund* had been so generous as to pardon him, and so easy as to give Credit to the Oaths he had sworn of being entirely devoted to his Service for future. Notwithstanding, this Traitor, who was a Capture of the King of Denmark, let no Opportunity slip that offer'd itself, of doing the *Danes* a signal Service. He saw the *Danes* were hard press'd by the *English*, and in treating in great Disorder, he found the Means to persuade *Edmund* to desist from pursuing them, by making him apprehensive, least their Despair should make them rally again.

* This Battle was fought at *Sceorfan*, which *Cambden* supposes to be *Sherston* in *Wiltshire*; others think it to be the Place where four Stones, call'd *Shire-Stones*, part the four Counties of *Oxford*, *Glocester*, *Worcester*, and *Warwick*. *Milton* makes the Battle to have lasted two whole Days, and *Canute* to have march'd off the second Night.

again, and the Victory, by some unforeseen Accident, be snatch'd out of his Hands. This Artifice, which had before taken with *Ethelred*, had the same Effect on *Edmund*, who suffer'd himself to be guided by this fatal Advice. It is difficult to know which is most to be wonder'd at, the Imprudence of *Edmund* in being govern'd by the Councils of one, whose Treachery ought to be so well knowna to him, or the Boldness and Confidence of the Traytor. Tir'd at length with dissembling his real Sentiment, he threw off his Mask in the last Battle at *Affandun**. Whilst the two Armies were engag'd, he deserted his Post, and went and join'd the *Danes*, who receiv'd him as their real Friend. This Piece of Treachery caus'd such a Confarnation among the *English*, that throwing down their Arms, they thought of nothing but saving themselves by Flight. *Edmund's* Loss upon this Occasion was irretrievable, the Flower of the *English* Nobility being cut off in this unfortunate Battle. The Earls *Alfrick*, *Goodwin*, *Ulfketel*, *Ethelward*, all distinguish'd for their Valour and Loyalty, fell that Day with their Swords in their Hands in defense of their King and Country.

*The Battle
of Affan-
dun,
wherein
Canute
gains the
Victory by
the Treach-
ery of Ed-
mund.*

After this important Victory, *Canute* look'd upon himself as irresistible. He cou'd not conceive that *Edmund* would ever be able to bring another Army into the Field that durst look him in the Face. But as the *English* were driven to their last Shifts, they exerted their utmost in this Extremity of Danger. *Edmund* had the Hearts of his Subjects on his Side, and particularly the *Loudoners*, who were always ready to give him effectual Proofs of their Affection and Loyalty. And therefore, so far was he from letting his Courage sink at this unlucky Turn of Affairs, that he rallied his dispers'd Troops; and having drawn together a more powerful Army than what he had lost, he went in quest of his Enemy, who was marching towards *Glocester*. *Canute* for his Part, unwilling to give him Time to augment his Forces, marc'd towards

* *Ashdown* in *Essex* near *Billericay*. *Canute* built a Church here in Memory of this Battle.

towards him with a Design to give him Battle. The two Kings stood in View of one another for some Time, at the Head of their respective Armies, without either of them giving the Signal of Battle. The Dread of the Event held them equally in suspence. *Edmund* was sensible he was undone, if he lost the Day ; and *Canute* fore-saw the general Defection of the *English* wou'd be the Consequence of his being worsted. Thus, in all Appearance, the Gain or Loss of a great Kingdom depended on

Edmund
sends a
Challenge
to Canute,
wherrefuses
to accept it.

the Fortune of that important Day. At last, *Edmund*, who was strong and robust of Body, and for that Reason Sirnam'd *Iron-side*, sent Word to *Canute*, that in order to prevent the Effusion of so much Blood, as was going to be spilt in their Quarrel, he judg'd it proper for them Two to decide the Matter by single Combat. *Canute* return'd in Answer, that, Though he came not behind his Antagonist in Courage, yet being of a weak Constitution and small Stature, he shou'd take care how he engag'd in so unequal a Combat. He added, if *Edmund* was desirous to prevent any further Effusion of Blood, he was ready to refer the Decision of Matters to the Principal Officers of the two Armies. This Propo-sal was receiv'd with Joy by the Nobles of *Edmund's* Party, who passionately desir'd to find out some Expedient to put an End to so fatal a War. *Edmund*, on the contrary, wou'd fain have decided the Quarrel by Arms, but however durst not oppose the Nobility, for fear his standing out shou'd occasion their abandoning him.

The Peace
is made up
by the Di-
vision of
the King-
dom.

Pleni-
potentiaries therefore were nominated on both Sides, who were to meet in a little Isle in the *Severn*, call'd *Alney*, over against *Glocester*, to consult how to regulate the Pretensions of 'the two Princes. After a short Conference, the Peace was concluded by the Partition of the Kingdom. *Wessex*, that is, all the Country lying South of the *Thames*, with the City of *London*, and Part of the antient Kingdom of *Essex*, was assign'd to *Edmund*. *Ca-*
nute had for his Share the Kingdom of *Mercia*, including *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia*. Matters being thus regulated, the two Kings met in the *Isle of Alney*; and hav-ing

ing mutually swore to preserve the Peace, *Edmund* retired into *Wessex*.

Edmund's challenging *Canute* has given Occasion to some Historians to affirm, that the two Kings actually fought a Duel in the *Isle of Alney*. And to make this appear the more probable, they have taken care to be very particular in the Circumstances of this mighty Combat.

*Remarks
on the pre-
tended Du-
el between
the two
Kings.*

They tell us, that after it had lasted a good while without any Advantage on either Side, *Canute* finding his Strength to fail him, lifted up the Visor of his Helmet, and propos'd the Division of the Kingdom, which *Edmund* consented to upon the Spot. It is further added, that at the same Instant, they ran to embrace one another, to the Astonishment of the two Armies, who were Spectators. But the best Historians not saying a word of this single Combat, one can't conceive they shou'd omit to embellish their Histories with the Relation of it, had there been any Foundation for it *.

Edmund enjoy'd not long the Peace, that had cost him so much Pains. *Edric Streon*, his Brother-in-law, fearing the Union of the two Kings might prove fatal to him, brib'd two of the King's Chamberlains to assassinate him. Some report, he employ'd his own Son in this execrable Treason. Thus died that brave Prince, who deserv'd a better Fate **. He had not sat on the Throne a whole Year.

1017.
*Edmund's
Death.*

But

* *Ethelred*, Abbot of *Rievaulx*, gives a very particular Account of what pass'd before, at, and after this famous Duel. With him agree *Huntingdon*, and *Matthew of Westminster*. *Malmsbury* says, *Edmund* challeng'd *Canute*, but he declin'd the Combat, and offer'd to divide the Kingdom. *Simeon of Durham*, and *Hoveden*, mention nothing of the Challenge or Duel, but only speak of the Division of the Kingdom by the Perswasion of *Edric*, in the same Manner as the *Saxon Annals*. So great is the uncertainty of this Fact.

** *Malmsbury* and *Brompton* relate, that the two Villains stabb'd him with a sharp piece of Iron, as he was easing Nature. Some will have him to be taken off by Poison: Others to be slain by an Arrow shot by an Image made on purpose, which discharg'd it self upon the King's touching it. But this is improbable. The *Annals* say only, he died suddenly. He was buried by his Grandfather *Edgar* at *Glastonbury*. With him fell the Glory of the *English Saxons*, and by his

But in so short a Reign, he had given frequent Proofs of an undaunted Courage, a consummate Prudence, and a bountiful Temper.

He left Issue, by *Algitha* his Wife, two Sons, *Edmund*, and *Edward*, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. He had also a natural Son, nam'd *Edwy*, whom *Canute* put to Death some Time after.

*Canute's
Promise to
Edric.*

The Duke of *Mercia*, who was mightily pleas'd with having done *Canute* so great a piece of Service, hasted with all speed to bring the first News of it to him; but *Canute* detested so barbarous a Deed. However he conceal'd his Sentiments of the Matter, because he thought he might have farther Occasion for the Traytor, and promis'd to advance him above all the Peers of the Realm. He kept his word with him; but it was in a very different Manner from what the Villain expected.

17. CANUTE the Great.

1017.
*Canute
gets him-
self ac-
knowl-
ledg'd
King of all
England.*

THE Death of *Edmund* furnish'd *Canute* with an Opportunity and Pretence of becoming Master of *Wessex*, which the lawful Heirs were hardly in a Condition to dispute with him. It was not properly by Force of Arms, that he gain'd his Point, but by extorting the Consent of the Nobles. How averse soever the *English* might be to the Government of the *Danes*, he was in hopes that the Dread of bringing new Calamities on the Kingdom, wou'd sway with them more, and constrain them to comply with what he wanted. With this View, he got an *Assembly-General* to be conven'd in *Wessex*, in order to lay his Claim before them, reckoning it wou'd be time enough to use Force, in case he met with great Opposition. *Edmund* having left behind him two Sons and two Brothers,

Canute

his Death the *Danes* prevail'd, and the *Saxon Monarchy* in a manner ended, after it had lasted 190 Years from the Establishment by *Egbert*, 432 from the founding of the *Heptarchy*, and 568 from the arrival of the *Saxons* under *Hengist*.

Canute did not seem to have any Right to pretend to the Crown. But he insisted upon it, that in the Treaty of the Isle of Alney, the Agreement was, that the longest Liver of the two Kings shou'd succeed the Other. He moreover gave them to understand plain enough, he shou'd not stand to the Determination of the Assembly, if they decided the Matter against him. Edmund's two Sons were very young, and his Brothers were in Normandy, where they thought of nothing less than the obtaining the Crown of Wessex. On the other Hand, Canute was in great Power, and threat'ned hard. Besides his being in Possession of half the Kingdom, he had abundance of Friends among the West-Saxons themselves, without reckoning those who were perswaded any Expedient was preferable to the renewing of the War. It was therefore scarce possible for the Friends of the English Princes to get over so great Obstacles. Had they been resolutely bent to have continued the Succession in the Family of Edmund, in all probability, they wou'd have kindled a-fresh in the Kingdom a War, which must have ended in its Destruction. In this Perplexity, they were contented with intimating, that they agreed Canute shou'd be declar'd the Protector of Edmund's Children, till the eldest shou'd be of a fit Age to reign. By this means, tho' they plac'd not these Princes on the Throne, at least they preserv'd their Right entire. But Canute was not satisfied with a borrow'd Power. He was willing to succeed Edmund in his own Right, by virtue of the Treaty of Alney; a Right, which tho' all did not acknowledge, yet none durst openly contest. Tho' the Treaty did not expressly say what he asserted, he maintain'd it was the true Sense and Meaning of it, and that it cou'd not be otherwise understood without Infringement. To make appear that this was the Design and Intention of the Parties concern'd in the Treaty, he call'd to Witness all those who were present at the Conclusion of the Peace, and demanded of them, whether there was any thing stipulated in Favour of Edmund's Sons? And upon their answering, there was no mention at all of the Princes, he inferr'd

Sim. Dun:
Hoveden.

from thence they had no Right to succeed their Father. This Reasoning, weak as it was, being back'd by the Votes of his Party, and moreover by the Fears of the *English* in general, was sufficient to bring over the *Assembly*, to do as he wou'd have them. They thought, or pretended to think, his Reasons were very solid; and so without examining Matters too closely, they acknowledged and proclaimed him King of all *England*; and all the Lords, both *English* and *Danish*, swore Allegiance to him. After which he was crown'd, and then divided the Kingdom into four Parts or Governments, *Mercia*, *Northumberland*, *East-Anglia* and *Wessex*. The first he gave to *Edric Stremen*, the second to *Eric*, the third to *Turkill*, reserving *Wessex* to himself, without appointing either *Duke* or *Earl* over it.

He divides England into four Parts.
Malm. l. 2.
c. 21.
Hunt.

He lays a Scheme of getting rid of his Enemies, and gaining the Love of the People.

Canute was too Politick not to know the Motive of the *English* acknowledging him for their Sovereign. Tho' all those that came near him, took care to hide their Sentiments, he was sensible an Animosity of near two Hundred Years standing, and fomented by continual Wars, cou'd not be extinguish'd in so short a Time. This was the Reason he resolv'd to use all possible Caution, to prevent the Revolt of the *English*. To this End two Things were equally necessary, viz. the gaining the Affections of his new Subjects, and the getting rid of those that gave him any Uneasiness. Tho' these two Projects seem'd incompatible, he despair'd not however of Success, and accordingly spent the Beginning of his Reign in bringing them about. As he was not ignorant, that the most effectual means of becoming Popular, was to cause Justice to be administred fairly and impartially, he publickly declar'd that for the future, he wou'd make no Distinction between the *English* and *Danes*. After this, he publish'd an Edict, wherein it was order'd that every *County* shou'd be govern'd by the same Laws as in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings. He excepted however the *Northern Counties*, because they were peopled with scarce any other but *Danes*, who had introduc'd particular Laws of their own, which there was no occasion to alter. The same Edict denounc'd the severest Punishments against Malefactors, of what

what Nation soever ; the King's Aim being to let the *English* see, they had no reason to fear any Respect of Persons. These wise Regulations produc'd the desir'd Effect. The People were never weary of showing Signs of the greatest Joy and Satisfaction, at being govern'd by their antient Laws, under the Protection of an equitable Prince, who seem'd to have no other View but the Happiness of his Subjects.

As soon as *Canute* saw the Progres he had made in *England*, he believ'd he might venture without any Danger upon the second Branch of his *Scheme*, the getting rid of those that gave him the most Uneasiness, particularly the *Saxon* Princes. *Alfred* and *Edward*, Brothers to the late King, were retir'd into *Normandy*, with their Mother *Emma*, plainly foreeing it would not be in the Power of the *West-Saxons* to do Justice to the Royal Family. As for *Edmund*'s two Sons, they remain'd in *England*, being too young to think of providing for their Safety. These two Princes, notwithstanding their Youth, made the new King somewhat uneasy, by reason of the Affection the People had for them. He wou'd not have scrupled to put them to Death ; but he cou'd not do it in *England*, without running the Risk of becoming odious to the *English*, which was running counter to his Designs. However, as he did not think all safe, whilst the two Princes were alive, he gave them in Charge to one of his Domesticks to carry them into *Denmark*, under a Pretence of sending them Abroad to travel. But in reality it was only to have it in his Power the more easily to dispatch them out of the way, when their Absence shou'd have abated the Affection of the People. The Person entrusted with the Princes, being conscious of the King's Design, was touch'd with Compassion for the innocent Princes, and instead of carrying them to *Denmark*, had them to the King of *Sweden*, discovering at the same time his Master's Intentions. The King of *Sweden* gave the *English* Princes a very civil Reception : But however, not to break with *Canute*, he sent them to the Court of *Solomon*, King of *Hungary*, his Relation, and from thence to Hungary, where Edmund died.

lation, who was willing to take Care of their Education. In proceſs of Time, *Solomon* gave one of his Daughters in Marriage to *Edmund*; and to *Edward*, his Sister-in-law *Agatha*, the Daughter of the Emperor *Henry II.* *Edmund* died ſoon after his Marriage; but *Edward* had five Children, of whom two died in *Hungary*: The rest were, *Edgar Atheling*, *Margaret*, and *Christian*.

*The two
Edwy's
are ba-
nished:*

*Recalls one,
and puts
him to
Death.*

*Cœnute
marries
Emma of
Norman-
dy.*

There were ſtill in *England* two Sons of *Ethelred II.* who were both nam'd *Edwy*, and of whom one was born in Wedlock, the other a Bastard. This laſt was call'd, but for what Reason is unknown, *The King of the Clowns*. *Canute* was no leſs perplex'd about these than the other Princes, every thing contributing to the Suspicion of a Prince, who not being ſatisfied of the Lawfulness of his Title, thinks himſelf not firmly ſeated on the Throne. And therefore to make himſelf eaſy in this respect, he banished them the Realm. But ſome time afteſter, having recall'd the firſt, under Pretence of being reconcil'd to him, he got him diſpatch'd out of the way. The other, after having endured a great many Hardships in his Exile, return'd privately into *England*, where he kept himſelf conceal'd, being ſupplied underhand by his Friends with Necessaries for his Subſtence (a) *.

Canute wou'd have been very glad to have got rid, with the ſame Eafe, of the Trouble *Alfred* and *Edward*, *Edmund*'s Brothers, who were retir'd into *Normandy* with their Mother, gave him. But he knew not how to get them out of the Hands of Duke *Richard II.* their Uncle. He was even apprehenſive that this Prince, whose Forces were not to be despis'd, wou'd one Day eſpouse their Cause. To prevent this, he bethought himſelf of bringing him over to his Interests by demanding in Marriage his Sister *Emma*, Widow of *Ethelred II.* and by offering him at the ſame time one of his own Sisters, nam'd

(a) These two *Edwy*'s are confounded by ſeveral Historians; but they are plainly diſtinguiſh'd in the *Saxon Annals*, and in the *Genealogy* at the End of the History of *Alfred*, written by *Spelman*.

* *Malmsbury* ſays, he was buried at *Tavistock* in *Devonshire*.

nam'd *Estrith*. These Proposals being accepted, the two Marriage Solemnities were celebrated in a magnificent Manner. If *Emma* was pleas'd with being once more made Queen of *England*, it was not so with *Alfred* and *Edward* her Sons, who openly shew'd their Dislike of the Matter. *Edward* especially, never forgave her for thus scandalously espousing the mortal Foe of her first Husband. Both of them were also extreamly incens'd against her for consenting that the Succession to the Crown should be settled by the Marriage Articles, on the Heirs of her Body by *Canute*. This was cutting off, as far as lay in her Power, from the Family of *Ethelred*, all Hopes of ever mounting the Throne.

*One of the
Marriage
Articles.*

After *Canute* had thus secur'd himself from all Danger from the *Saxon* Princes, he thought it high time to get rid of some Lords whose Fidelity he suspected, or whose Power made him uneasy. The three principal ones were, the Duke of *Mercia*, the Duke of *East-Anglia*, and the Earl of *Northumberland*. These Lords had done him signal Services; but this was the very thing that render'd them obnoxious to him, because he was very sensible how much it lay in their Power to do him a Prejudice, if they had a mind to it. He knew *Edric Streon* was a Villain, and as he cou'd not depend on his Fidelity, since he had so often betray'd the two preceding Kings, from whom he receiv'd so many Favours, he resolv'd to begin with him. He quickly found an Opportunity to execute his Design, by even doing an Act of Justice very acceptable to the *English*. This Lord having had one Day the Insolence to upbraid him publickly, for not having rewarded him for his past Services, particularly for ridding him of so formidable a Rival as was *Edmund*, afforded him the Opportunity he had some Time been waiting for. *Edric* had no sooner dropt these Words, but the King answer'd in a Rage, That since he had been so audacious as openly to avow so black a Treason, of which he had hitherto been only suspected, he shou'd receive his due Punishment. At the same Instant, without giving him time to reply, he commanded him to be beheaded upon

*Edric
Streon put
to Death.
Brompton*

on the Spot, and his Body to be thrown into the *Thames*. 'Tis said he order'd his Head to be fix'd on the highest Part of the Tower of *London*, that he might keep his Word with him, when he promis'd the Traitor, *to raise him above all the Peers of the Realm*. Thus *Edric* receiv'd at last the just Reward of his Treacheries. *Eric*, Earl of *Northumberland*, was banish'd the Kingdom shortly after, under some Pretence. *Turkill*, Duke of *East-Anglia*, frighten'd by these Examples, and perhaps by the King's Emissaries, voluntarily went into Banishment, for fear something worse might befall him. Several other Lords of less Note falling a Sacrifice to the King's Jealousy or Suspicions, their Posts were fill'd with thofe he cou'd place a greater Confidence in. From this time the *English* began to enjoy a State of Tranquillity, which appear'd the sweeter to them, as they had been many Years without it, and as they had no room to expect it.

1018. However, they were forc'd to pay a Tax of fourscore thousand Pounds *, to defray the Arrears due to the *Danish* Army, great Part of which were sent back to *Denmark*.

1019. *Canute* finding the Kingdom was in profound Tranquillity, and that he had no Reason to fear the revolting of the *English*, resolv'd upon a Voyage to *Denmark*. His Presence was absolutely necessary there, on account of the *Danes* and *Vandals* being at War. He took with him such of the *English* Lords as he was jealous of, least his Absence should put them upon exciting Troubles in the Kingdom. For this reason also he carried along with him the Flower of the *English* Troops, under the Command of Earl *Goodwin*, the Son of *Ulnoth*, mention'd in the Reign of *Ethelred II*. *Goodwin*, who was a Man of great Abilities and Experience, signaliz'd himself in this War, by a very bold, though successful Action. The two

A bold Action of Earl Goodwin.

*The *Saxon Annals*, Anno MXVIII. say, it was seventy two thousand Pounds, besides eleven (*Florence* says fifteen) thousand paid by the City of *London*. Hence may be seen the flourishing Condition of that City in those Days, since it cou'd pay almost a sixth Part of this great Tax.

two Armies of *Danes* and *Vandals* being near one another, *Canute* design'd to attack the Enemy next Morning, as soon as Day should appear. Whilst his Troops were refreshing themselves a little, in expectation of the Battle, *Goodwin* privately withdrawing from the Camp, with a Body of Troops under his Command, went and fell upon the *Vandals* during the Night, and putting them in Disorder by this sudden Attack, made a great Slaughter of them, and put the whole Army to Rout. At break of Day, *Canute* preparing for the Battle, and not finding the *English* at their Station, did not question but they were revolted to the Enemy. While he was perplex'd in his Thoughts at this unexpected Accident, he saw the *English* General arrive, who was come himself to bring him News of his Victory. Though this Action was of a dangerous Consequence, the King however was very willing upon this Occasion, to dispense with the Discipline of War, which requir'd that *Goodwin* should be punish'd for having dar'd to fight without Orders. He receiv'd him with abundance of Caresses, and as a Reward for so signal a Service, created him Earl of *Kent*. I shall have frequent Occasion hereafter to speak of this Earl, who became at length the greatest Lord in *England*.

This War being happily ended, *Canute* return'd into *England*, where immediately upon his Arrival he conven'd the *Great Council*, in order to have the *Danish* Laws enfor'd, which, for some time, had been observ'd in Part of the Kingdom, and particularly in *Northumberland*. There were then in *England* three sorts of Laws, namely, the *West-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Danish* Laws *. But these

*Three Sorts
of Laws in
England.*

* *Wēf-Saxenlaga*, *Merchenlaga*, and *Denalaga*. Bishop Nicolson in his Letter to Dr. Wilkins, prefix'd to his Edition of the *Saxon Laws*, makes it appear that this threefold Division of the *English* Laws is imaginary, and proceeded from the *Norman* Interpreters mistaking the meaning of the Word *Laga*, which they thought was the same with *Ley* or *Eaw*. Whereas *Laga* signifies *Region*, *Territory*, or *Province*, as is plain from several Places in the *Saxon Laws*, whereon *Denalaga* means the same as among the *Danes*, or in the Territories of the *Danes*. See p. 53, and 135, of Dr. Wilkins's *Anglo-Saxon Laws*. The Author of the Dialogue *De Scaccario*, was the first that led the Way in this Error, l. i. c. 16.

these last had not the Sanction of publick Authority, till *Canute*, at his return from *Denmark*, put them on the same Foot with the ancient Laws of *England*.

1025. *Expedition of Canute against the Swedes.* *Canute*, ever since his return into *England*, liv'd in profound Tranquillity, wholly taken up in causing Justice and Peace to flourish, and in making his Subjects happy. But some time after he was oblig'd to break off these pacifick Employments, in order to take a second Voyage to *Denmark*, then invaded by the *Swedes*. He came off but very lamely in this Expedition. The *English* Troops he carried with him, suffer'd very much, and he had the Mortification to meet with a more rugged Treatment than he had been accustomed to.

1027. *He becomes Master of Norway.* Two Years after, having forgot his ill Success against the *Swedes*, he enter'd into another War, which made ample Amends for his former Losses. He took a Resolution to revive some old Pretensions to *Norway*, which had never been fully clear'd up. *Olaüs*, who then sat on the Throne of *Norway*, was an easy and a weak Prince. *Canute* thought he cou'd never meet with a more favourable Opportunity to assert his Claim, than in the Reign of this Prince. He began his Design with privately forming a strong Party among the *Norwegian* Lords. And as soon as Matters were ripe, he sail'd for *Denmark*, with a considerable Body of *English* Troops, and on a sudden landed them in *Norway*. *Olaüs*, who had no Intelligence of his secret Practices, being surpriz'd at this unexpected Attack, and more so at seeing the major Part of his Subjects side with the Enemy, found he had no other Course to take but to abandon his Kingdom, and save himself by Flight. Upon his going off, *Canute* was crown'd King of *Norway*, never troubling himself about the Right, so long as he had the Power in his Hands. Two Years after the depos'd Prince making an Attempt to recover his Dominions, was slain by his own Subjects, and *Canute* remain'd in peaceable Possession of the Kingdom. *Olaüs*, after his Death, was rank'd among the *Saints*, and honour'd with the glorious Title of *Martyr*.

The Conquest of Norway fully satisfied Canute's Ambition. From that time, laying aside all Thoughts of Warlike Affairs, he gave himself up to Acts of Devotion : That is to say, he made it his principal Business to enrich the Churches and Monasteries ; as if the Usurpation of two Kingdoms, and all the consequent Evils were to be compounded for by so slight a Satisfaction. Among other things he took particular Care to give publick Marks of his Respect to St. Edmund, formerly King of East-Anglia, slain by the Danes. Perhaps he gave some Credit to the Story of his Father Sveyn's being kill'd by that Saint, or rather, he was willing by this Means to stifle the Noise that was made about it. However this be, he built a stately Church over the Grave of this Prince, and very much enlarr'd the Town where his Body lay buried, which from him had the Name of St. Edmundsbury. The Monastery, which was in the same Place, and call'd Breadicworth, had been endow'd by Edward the Elder. Canute having enlarr'd the Building, and augmented the Revenues, this Religious House became one of the finest and richest in the Kingdom*.

After he had shewn, as he thought, visible Marks of his Devotion, he resolv'd upon a Journey to Rome, which he perform'd in 1031. Whilst he staid there, he made many large Presents to the Churches, confirm'd all his Predecessors had done both for the Church of Rome, and the English College. He obtain'd also for his Part certain

1031.
He goes to
Rome.

* Leland, who was an Eye-Witness of this Town and Monastery in their Splendor, gives this Description of them. A city more neatly seated the Sun never saw, hanging upon a gentle Descent, with a little River on its East-side; nor a Monastery more great and stately, whether we consider the Endowments, Largeness, or unparallell'd Magnificence. The Monastery it self looks like a City, so many Gates it has (some whereof are Brâs) so many Towers, and a Church, than which nothing can be more stately, to which as Appendages, there are three more of admirable Beauty and Workmanship in the same Church-yard. There are two still entire, viz. St. Mary's and St. Jame's; the third, which lies in Ruins, was the Great Church of the Monastery. Besides the immense Value of the Gifts at St. Edmund's Tomb, the Revenues, at the Dissolution, amounted to 1500*l.* a Year; a large Sum in those Days. See Cambden in Suffolk.

Privileges for the *English Churches*, and some Advantages for those who came to visit the *Tombs of the Kings*. But the most material Privilege he procur'd for the *English*, was an Exemption from paying any Toll or *Pass* through *Italy*. The Emperor *Conradus I.* was then at *Rome*, and with whom he had contracted a Friendship, granted him the same Privilege in his *minions*, as did also the King of *France* in his. It means the *English Pilgrims* and other Travellers eas'd of a great Expence, and freed from a thousand Injustices and Oppressions they were before liable to in *Italy*, and *Germany*. We have a large Account of Matters in a Letter this Monarch writ from *Rome*, to the *Assembly General* of the *English Nation*, wherein he informs them of what he had done in Favour of his Subjects. In this Letter he professes a great deal of Good-will and a fix'd Resolution to govern his Kingdom after most exact Rules of Justice, desiring at the same time his *Nobles* to assist him in this good Design *.

He returns to England. As soon as he came back to *England*, he applied himself to the *Dedication* of the Church of St. *Edmund*, which he had begun building before his Journey to *Rome*. In fine, after he had spent some Years longer in composing Acts of Devotion **, he died in 1036, in the Year of his Reign **.

1036.
He dies.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* This Epistle, which is extant in *Malmesbury*, was sent into *land by L. i. v i n g u s*, Abbot of *Tavistock*. It was address'd thru *Aethelnoth Bishop of Canterbury*; to *Alfric of York*, with all the *Bishops and Princes*; and to all the *English Nation*, as well *Non-Plebeians*, *Health*, &c.

** He founded also the noted Abby of St. *Bennet's in Holme* in *Cheshire*. He gave rich and extraordinary Jewels to the Church of *Cheshire*, of which one is recorded to be a *Cross*, worth one *Year's Revenue of the Kingdom*. It was consum'd with the Abby by *Henry 1st.* Time. He gave also to *Coventry* the Arm of St. *Gustavus*, the great Doctor, which he bought at *Pavia* in his Return from *Rome*, and is said to give for it a hundred *Talents of Silver* and one of *Gold*.

** He died at *Shaftesbury* the 12th of November, and was buried in the old Monastery in *Winchester*.

His Cha-
racter.

Historians have not fail'd to give this Prince the Sir-name of *Great*; a Title which Conquerors seem to affect, as if true Grandeur consisted in invading the Rights and Properties of others. But not to confine Grandeur within such narrow Bounds, *Canute* may be said to merit this glorious Title, if we consider only the latter Part of his Reign. The End of his Life was widely different from the Beginning. One wou'd have thought he had not been the same Prince, who to gain Kingdoms that belong'd not to him, had caus'd so much Blood to be spilt, and had trampled under Foot Religion and Justice. Some Years before his Death, he became Humble, Modest, Just, and truly Religious. If Historians have not carried Matters too far in what they say of him, from the time he was thoroughly settled on the Throne of *England*, he gave daily Marks of Piety, Justice, Moderation, which gain'd him the Love and Affection of his Subjects, and an universal Esteem among Foreigners. We have the following Story of him, which shows at once his good Sense, and to what Height his Courtiers had carried their Flatteries. One Day, as he was walking by the Sea-Side *, * At South-hampton. they that were with him extoll'd him to the Skies, and even proceeded so far as to compare him with God himself. Offended at these extravagant Praises, and willing to make them sensible of their Folly and Impiety, he order'd a Chair to be brought him, and seating himself in a Place where the Tide was about to flow, he turn'd to the Sea, and said; *O Sea, thou art under my Dominion, and the Land I sit on, is mine: I charge thee not to presume to approach any farther, nor to dare to wet the Feet of thy Sovereign.* Having said this, he sat still for some time, as if he expected the Sea shou'd obey his Commands. But as the Tide came rolling on as usual; he took Occasion from thence to let his base Flatterers know, that the Titles of *Lord* and *Master* belong only to him whom the Land and the Sea obey. It is said, from that Moment he wou'd never wear his Crown again, but order'd it to be put on the Head of the *Crucifix* at *Winchester*.

His Issue.

He left behind him three Sons, all of a fit Age
vern, to whom he bequeath'd his three Kingdoms b
Sweyn the eldest, and a Bastard, had *Norway*
Share: Some affirm, he was not his Son, but impos
on him for such by the Mother *. To *Harold* his
Son by the same Woman, he gave *England*, and to
or *Hardicanute*, whom he had by *Emma* of Nor
the Kingdom of *Denmark*. *Gunilda*, his Daugh
the same Princess, was Wife to the Emperor *Henry*

As I shall soon have occasion to mix the Affairs o
mandy with those of *England*, it will not be imprac
give some Account beforehand of what pass'd amo
Normans.

*Affairs of
Normandy.*

*Robert
Duke of
Norman
dy protects
the two
Brothers of
Edmund.*

Richard II. Duke of *Normandy* dying in 1026,
and *III.* his Son, succeeding him, reign'd but one
and by his Death left the Dukedom to *Robert* his Br
who was no sooner in Possession, but he show'd
clination to espouse the Interests of *Alfred* and *E*
his Cousins, the Sons of his Aunt *Emma* and *Ethel*
As they were both at his Court, and as he cou'd ne
bear pittying their Case, he believ'd his Recommen
might procure them some Favour from *England*.
swaded of this, as soon as he heard of the Death o
Edmund's Son, he sent Ambassadors to *Canute*, to
him to deliver up to the two Princes some Part o
Kingdom of their Ancestors. This Embassy arriv
England, at the time *Canute* found himself so firmly
on his Throne, that he thought he need not trouble
self about the Solicitations of the Duke of Norn.
Robert was so incens'd at his Refusal, that he resolv
compel him to do Justice to the *English* Princes.
this Purpose, he fitted out a powerful Fleet, on Bo
which he embark'd with a numerous Army, fully br
make a Descent on *England*, where he did not qu

* *Florence of Worcester* and *Diceto* say, that *Edgiva*, being b
feign'd a Lying-in, and got a Shoemaker's Son, newly born,
put upon her credulous Husband. She is said to do the same
Priest's Son also, which was *Harold*.

but the *English* would readily join him. But meeting with a violent Storm; he had the Mortification to behold the greatest Part of his Fleet perish; a Loss, he cou'd not easily repair. In the mean time, these Preparations having convinc'd *Canute*, that the Duke of *Normandy* intended to espouse the Cause of his Cousins in good Earnest, he endeavour'd to amuse him with offering them Part of the Kingdom of *Wessex*. But *Robert* wou'd not have been put off with this Offer, had not his Misfortune at Sea constrain'd him to suspend the Execution of his Design, as it induc'd *Canute* also to go back from his Word. Some time after, *Robert* took a Resolution to go a Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, deferring till his Return his intended Invasion of *England*. But he died in his way Home. He left behind him only a natural Son, call'd *William*, on whom, before he went his Voyage, he settled the Succession. This is the same *William the Bastard*, whom we shall see hereafter ascend the Throne of *England*.

*His Fleet is
destroy'd
by a Storm.*

18. HAROLD I. Sirnam'd *Harefoot.*

WHEN *Canute* espous'd the Princess of *Normandy*, HA-
ROLD I.
103 it was agreed upon, that the Children by this Marriage should succeed to the Crown of *England*. Notwithstanding this Prince, contrary to this Agreement, had left *England* to his Son *Harold* born in *Denmark*, and given *Denmark* to *Hardicanute*, his Son by *Emma of Normandy**. In all Appearance he was of Opinion that the *English* had not been long enough accustom'd to the *Danish* Yoke, for him to venture to place on their Throne his youngest Son, who was not above 15 or 16 Years of Age, and a Prince of no great *Genius*. However this be, that Article in his *Will* met with great Opposition from the *English*. They look'd upon *Hardicanute*, born in *England*, and of a lawful Wife, the Widow of one of their Kings, as the only Person capable

* She is call'd *Elgiva* by the *Saxon Annals* and others.

pable of succeeding, whereas *Harold* was consider'd a *Foreigner* and a *Bastard*. The *Danes* on the co^r were firmly bent to stand by *Canute's Last Will and ment.* This Diffension might have been of ill C^{on}sequence, if *Harold* had not us'd the utmost Expedit^t seizing upon the Treasure the King his Father ha^d up at *Winchester*. By the help of this, he was enat^t make himself fear'd, and to gain over several of his C^{on}s^{tr}uers. By which means, in a General Assembly h^{eld} *Mercia* *, he secur'd a Majority of *Voices*, and got self proclaim'd King of *England*. The *Danes* w^ent for him to a Man, and consequently, the *English Men* that is, They who dwelt on the North-side of the *T*hames, who, looking upon the *Danes* as their Masters, duri^d directly oppose their Will and Pleasure.

*Harold
proclaim'd
in Mercia,*

*and Har-
dicaneute
in Wessex.*

In the mean Time the *West-Saxons*, who were iⁿ such a State of dependance, upon their return Home, ven'd an Assembly of the States of *Wessex*, and b^{eing} Management of Earl *Goodwin*, *Hardicanute* was electe^d proclaim'd King of *Wessex*, the *West-Saxons* leavin^t *Mercians* free to acknowledge *Harold* for their King. the better understanding this Matter, it must be re^bred, that there were *Danes* or People of *Danish Ext* on dispers'd all over *England*, but that their chief S^{ett}ments were in *Mercia*, *East-Anglia*, and *Northumber*. And therefore, in all the Country lying North of *Thames*, call'd then by the general Name of *Mercia*, were more *Danes* than *English*. On the contraty, in *Wessex*, that is, South of the *Thames*, the *English* were the numerous, having admitted among them such of Countrymen, who, to avoid living under the Dom^t of the *Danes*, had quitted the *Northern Parts*. By means, *Wessex* was exceeding populous, and become Pow^{er}

* At *Oxford*, An.Sax. MXXXVI. This Contest about the E^{lect}ion of a King, very much weakens the Authority of *Simeon of Durham* and others, in relation to *Canute's Will*, especially considerin^t Marriage Articles with *Emma*, and the Silence of the *Saxon Athelred*. Besides, the States of the Kingdom very seldom or never fail^t whom the last King appointed in his *Will*.

powerful than ever, being capable of bringing into the Field as great an Army as the rest of all *England*. 'Twas in this Manner that the Kingdom of *Judah* in old Time grew strong at the Expence of that of *Israel*. The Forces then of the *West-Saxons* and of the *Mercians* being pretty near upon an Equality, it is no wonder they were jealous of one another, and that each strove to have for King, him of the two Princes, whom they thought wou'd be most favourable to them. It was very probable, this Division wou'd cause a War between the two Nations. But *Harold*, who was not posses'd of his Father's Qualities, imagin'd he was not strong enough to undertake the Conquest of *Wessex*. It was owing therefore to their being upon a Level, that the two Kingdoms remain'd in Peace.

Hardicanuse, who was in *Denmark*, made no great Haste to come and take Possession of the Crown of *Wessex*; whether he was detain'd by other Affairs, or whether on this, as well as on all other Occasions, he gave way to his natural Sluggishnes. During his Absence, Earl *Goodwin* held the Reins of the Government in an absolute manner, independent of *Emma*, the Queen-Mother, who was not belov'd by the *West-Saxons*. In the mean while *Harold* was contriving how to gain by underhand means, a Kingdom he saw he cou'd not subdue by Force of Arms. As he had been depriv'd of it purely by the Interest of Earl *Goodwin*, he believ'd he cou'd take no readier way to compass his Ends, than by bringing over the Earl to his Side. He laid hold therefore of the Opportunity of his Brother's Absence, to make *Goodwin* his Friend by such ways and means as History has not plainly told us; but may be easily guess'd at *. Be that as it will, he succeeded to his Wish. *Goodwin*, whose Conscience was not over-nice, finding what *Harold* had propos'd wou'd make for his Advantage, promis'd to place him on the Throne of *Wessex*. This Affair was so dextrously manag'd, that all on a sudden, under Pretence that *Hardica-*

Earl
Goodwin
Regent of
Wessex.

Delivers
up the
Kingdom
to Harold.

nunc

* He is said to have promis'd the Earl to marry his Daughter.

nute neglected to come into *England*, *Goodwin* procur'd *Harold* to be acknowledg'd King of *Wessex*. This Change however was not made with the unanimous Consent of the *West-Saxons*, but was brought about by the sole Contrivance of *Goodwin* and some other Lords, who engag'd so heartily in the Matter, that it was done and over, before it was in the Power of any one to hinder it. Thus the *West-Saxons* saw a new King on their Throne, without having the Liberty to deliberate, whether they shou'd give their Consent or not. This is not the only Instance of the like Intrigues producing the like Events.

Emma forms a Design to place on the Throne one of her Sons by her first Husband.

Emma, the Mother of *Hardicanute*, was extremely surpris'd at this Revolution, which not only depriv'd her Son of the Crown of *Wessex*, but herself also of the hopes of ever having any share in the Government. She per- ceiv'd, as Matters stood, there was no possibility of recovering the Crown for her Son *Hardicanute*; and therefore turning her Thoughts another way, she form'd a Project, the Execution whereof seem'd to her not impos- sible, which was, to get one of her Sons by *Ethelred*, to mount the Throne. She was in hopes the *English* wou'd gladly assist her to their utmost, in placing the Crown on the Head of a Prince of the Race of their antient Kings. Perhaps the desire of pulling down *Goodwin* from the high Station he was rais'd to, spurr'd her on as much as the prospect of her Son's Advancement. To bring about her Ends, there was need of a great deal of Cunning and Dis- simulation. Above all it was necessary to find some Pre- tence, without raising the King's Jealousy, to send for the two Princes her Sons, who were in *Normandy*, that they might form a Party for them selves, and make what Friends they cou'd. With this View, she pretended not to be at all concern'd at the deposing of *Hardicanute*, confining herself to *Winchester*, where she daily frequented the Churches, and seem'd to be wholly taken up with the Care of her Salvation. When she imagined the King was fully satisfied she had laid aside all Thoughts of State- Affairs, she begg'd leave to send for the two Princes her Sons at *Winchester*, whom she had not seen since her second

cond Marriage. Her Request being granted, *Alfred and Edward arriv'd soon after in England*, without seeming to have any other Design but to pay a Visit to their Mother. They were careſſ'd by great numbers of People, who, having English Hearts, always firmly adher'd to the antient Royal Family.

Goodwin, who was a Person of great Sagacity, quickly smelt out the Queen's Design. It was a difficult matter to impose upon so refin'd a Politician. As soon as he had begun to suspect her, he set so many Spies at Work, that he found at length his Suspicions were not ill-grounded. He acquainted *Harold* with the Matter, who seem'd startled at it. But the Earl, who was not ſo easily alarm'd, gave him to understand, that this Conspiracy as yet was but in Embrio, the Execution whereof might with ease be prevented; that the Difficulty did not lie ſo much in avoiding the preſent Danger, as in guarding againſt future ones; that to ſcrene himself once for All, from the like Practices, he ſaw no better way than by dispatching the two Saxon Princes, ſince he had ſo favourable an Opportunity put into his Hands. *Harold* approving of this Project, *Goodwin* adviſ'd him to put on a ſeeming Security, that he might with the leſs Difficulty draw them into the Snare. This being resolv'd upon, *Harold* made as if he were ignorant of the Queen's Designs, and the two Princes continu'd ſome Time at *Wincheſter*, without his ſhowing the leaſt Uneaſineſſ upon their Account. In fine, laying hold on an Opportunity, which naturally offer'd it ſelf, he invited them to come and paſs a few Days at Court, before they return'd into *Normandy*, where he feign'd to believe, they design'd to go in a ſhort Time. *Emma* was in great Suspence what to do. She was very ſenſible it wou'd be a hard Matter for her Sons to gain a powerful Party among the Nobility, without appearing at Court, where the Lords of the greatest Interest were uſually preſent. But on the other hand, ſhe cou'd not bring herſelf to reſolve upon delivering them into the Hands of a Prince, whose Interest it was to deſtroy them. In this Perplexity, ſhe took a middle Course, which ſhe

*acquaints
the King
with the
Queen's
Designs.*

*He advises
the dis-
patching of
the two
Princes.*

judg'd proper to prevent the Danger she dreaded. This was to send *Alfred*, her eldest Son, to the King, and to detain *Edward* under some Pretence : She was persuaded, that in case *Harold* had any ill Designs, he wou'd defer them till such time as he had both the Brothers in his Power, seeing it wou'd be to no Purpose to dispatch One, whilst the Other was alive. *Goodwin*, content that his Advice had thus far succeeded, order'd the Matter so, that he was sent to meet *Alfred*, as if to do him Honour, but in reality, because he was unwilling to trust another with the Execution of his Designs. *Alfred's* little Train compos'd of *Normans*, were charm'd with the Respect *Goodwin* paid, and caus'd to be paid to the Prince. But their Satisfaction was quickly turn'd into great Consternation, when the Prince and all that were with him were stopp'd at *Guildford* Castle, where they were made to enter, under Pretence of refreshing themselves. *Alfred* was immediately conducted to *Ely*, where after they had put out his Eyes, he was shut up in the Monastery. The unhappy Prince had scarce time to be sensible of his Misfortunes, since he died a few Days after, either out of Grief, or by some more violent means. At least *Goodwin* was afterwards charg'd with his Murder. As soon as *Edward* was inform'd of the sad *Catastrophe* of his Brother, he forthwith departed for *Normandy*, for fear of the like Treatment. Shortly after *Emma*, having receiv'd orders to depart the Kingdom, retir'd to *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, who assign'd her the City of *Bruges* to reside in. It seems somewhat strange, she shou'd not go to *Normandy* to Duke *William* her Nephew ; but in all probability, they who had the Administration of Affairs during the Duke's Minority, did not think proper to receive her. And indeed, it was to be fear'd this intriguing Princess wou'd increase the Disturbances of the Dukedom, where *William* was not as yet firmly establish'd *.

Edward returns to Normandy.

Whilst

* This Account of *Alfred's* Death, *Malmesbury* says, was built on common Report, and not being recorded, refuses to vouch the Fact. But *M. Westminster* and others, relate it without Diffidence. Most of the

Whilst these things were transacting, *Hardicanute* rousing at length from his Lethargy, form'd a Design of recovering by Arms, the Kingdom of *Wessex*, usurp'd by his Brother. With this view he went to *Bruges*, to consult with the Queen his Mother. In all Appearance, he wou'd have had a hard Task to bring Matters about, had not the Death of *Harold*, which happen'd at that very Time, smooth'd all Difficulties. This Prince died * in 1039 without Issue, and without having done any thing memorable **. He was Sirnam'd *Harefoot*, because his *Knightson*.

1039.
Harold
dies.

V O L. II.

H 2

Foot

the antient *Manuscript Annals* in the *Cottonian Library*, as also a Treatise call'd *Encomium Emmae*, (which, 'tis plain, *Malmesbury* never saw) being a *Panegyrick* wrote on that Queen, by a Monk of her own Time, relate the Matter thus.

Harold seeking by Treachery to get these two young Princes into his Power, forg'd a Letter in the Name of *Emma* their Mother, earnestly inviting them into *England*; wherein, (personating her) "She gently chides them for their Delay, in not coming over to inspect their own Affairs, since they cou'd not but know that it daily confirm'd the Usurper in his Power, who omitted no Artifices to gain the chief Nobility over to his Party: Yet assur'd them the English had much rather have one of them to reign over them; and therefore urg'd them to come as speedily and as privately as they cou'd, to consult what Measures were most proper to be taken." This Letter was sent to *Normandy*, by an exp'res Messenger, and receiv'd by the Princes with Joy; who sent word by the same Hand, That one of them wou'd be with her shortly, naming both the Time and Place. Accordingly, *Alfred* the youngest, (by others said to be the eldest) at the appointed Time, with a few Ships, and a small number of *Normans*, sail'd for *England*; where they were no sooner landed, but they fell into the Hands of *Godwin*, who serv'd then as *Rapin* has above related. What makes this Account the more probable, is, that had both the Princes come over in the manner above-mention'd, *Harold* wou'd certainly have put them both to Death, since it wou'd have been in his Power. The *Saxon Annals* say nothing of *Alfred's* Death, and some place it after *Harold's* Deceas'e. Such is the Uncertainty of this Matter; which makes it appear, how little Traditional Accounts are to be depended upon, tho' of no long standing, since this Story, transacted but a few Years before the Conquest, is told so many ways.

* He died at *Oxford*, in the fourth Year of his Reign, and was buried at *Winchester*; or according to *Brompton*, at *Westminster*.

** He laid a Tax of 8 Marks on every Port, towards fitting out sixteen Ships. He made but one Law, mention'd by *Selden*, which was, that if any *Wels-Man*, coming into *England* without leave, was taken

Foot was all over hairy, or, as others affirm, because he was light and swift of Foot *. His Death happen'd in one of the hardest Winters that had ever been known in England **.

19. CANUTE II. or HARDICANUTE.

1039.
Hardic-
nute is ac-
knowledg'd
King of all
England.

AFTER the Death of *Harold, the Great Men* of both Nations, unanimously made an Offer of the Crown to *Canute, Sirnam'd the Hardy*, not to denote his Courage, but his strong Constitution (a). He was then at *Bruges*, concerting Measures with the Queen his Mother, for the recovery of the Kingdom of *Wessex*, by the means of a powerful Aid the Earl of *Flanders* had put him in hopes of. The News of *Harold's* Death having put an End to their Consultations, he came to *England* with 40 Ships he had brought with him from *Denmark*. He was receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy, both by the *English* and *Danes*. Earl *Goodwin* himself, tho' he had no reason to rejoice at his Arrival, after what he acted against him, was the foremost to do him Homage.

*He digs up
his Bre-
ther's
Corps.*

Malm. l.2.
q. 12.

The new King began his Reign with an Act of Cruelty somewhat uncommon. The Ceremony of his Coronation was hardly over, but out of his Impatience to be reveng'd on his Brother, dead as he was, he commanded his Body to be dug up and thrown into the *Thames*. But all his Care to prevent the Body from being buried again, prov'd ineffectual. Some Fishermen finding the Corps floating on the Water,

taken on this side *Offa's Ditch*, he shou'd have his Right-hand cut off by the King's Officer.

* *Brompton* says, he had his Surname from refusing to ride on Horse-back, and chusing always to walk on Foot, which, says he, was very unbecoming his Royal State.

** The *Saxon Annals*. MXXXIX. say, that this Year a *Seffer*, or Horse-load of Wheat, was sold for 55 Pence, and more.

(a) The word *Hardy*, is rendred by those that wrote in *Latin*, by *Durus*, and not by *Audax*. See *Pontanus. Hist. Dan.*

Water, deliver'd it to the *Danes*, who interr'd it in a Burying-Place their Nation had then in *London**. It is further added, that the King being inform'd of this, order'd the Body to be thrown once more into the River; but being found again, it was privately buried at *Westminster*.

Shortly after, *Hardicanute* impos'd an exorbitant Tax on the Kingdom, for the Payment of the Fleet he sent back to *Denmark*. Though the *Englifh* had often paid the like Tax, term'd *Danegeld*, they were dissatisfied at its being renew'd at a Time when there appear'd no Necessity for it. The Inhabitants of *Worcester* oppos'd the levying this Tax with the greatest Heat. They even proceeded so far as to kill two of the Collectors. News of this being brought the King, he order'd immediatly *Goodwin* Duke of *Wessex*, *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*, to draw their Forces together, march to *Worcester*, and destroy the City with Fire and Sword. These Lords executed in Part the King's Orders, though with a great deal of Reluctance. The City was burnt, after it had been plunder'd for four Days together. But the Inhabitants had leave to retire into a small Island in the *Severn*, nam'd *Bevercy*, 'till the King was appeas'd**.

Not long after, Prince *Edward*, the Son of *Ethelred II.* *Prince Edward* and Brother to the King by the same Mother, appear'd at *wardcomes* Court. He met with a very Civil Reception, and upon his first coming demanded Justice against *Goodwin*, charg-ing

*He imposes
a heavy
Tax.*

*Sedition at
Worcester
on that Ac-
counts.
Cambden.
in Worcest.*

*The City
burnt.*

*to Court.
Dunelm.*

* Which constant Tradition affirms to be the Church and Church-yard of St. Clements *Danes*.

** This City, the *Branonium* of *Antoninus*, and *Branogenium* of *Ptolemy*, whence call'd by the *Welsh* at this Day, *Cair Vrangon*, was nam'd by the *Saxons*, *Wogar-Cefter*, *Wegorna-Cefter*, and *Wire-Cefter*, perhaps from the Forest *Wire* hard by. It was built by the *Romans*, as a Frontier Town against the *Britons* or *Welsh*. It was fenc'd formerly with high *Roman Walls*, and has now a strong Wall. It was made an *Episcopal See* by *Sexwulfus* Bishop of the *Mercians*, in 680. It was soon rebuilt after being burnt here by the *Danes*. *Cambden*.

Demand's
Justice a-
gainst
Goodwin.

Who gets off
by a noble
Present to
the King.

1041.
Death of
Hardica-
nute.

ing him with the Murder of his Brother *Alfred**. The King was well enough pleas'd with having an Opportunity of punishing the Earl, not so much perhaps for the Death of Prince *Alfred*, as for what he had done in Favour of the late King. He was cited therefore to appear and answer to what was alledg'd against him. But *Goodwin*, who knew the covetous Temper of the King, found the Means to extricate himself out of this Affair, by a magnificent Present before his Trial. This Present was a Galley, having a gilt Stern, and mann'd with four-score choice Soldiers, every one of whom had upon each Arm a golden Bracelet weighing sixteen Ounces, with Helmets and Swords all gilded, and a *Danish* Battle-Ax adorn'd with Gold and Silver, hanging on his Left-Shoulder, and a Lance of the same in his Right-Hand. Every thing in the Galley was answerable to this Magnificence. By Virtue of this noble Present, the Earl was acquitted, upon taking his Oath that he had no Hand in the Death of Prince *Alfred**.

Hardicanute did not long enjoy a Crown he was not worthy to wear. He died suddenly in the third Year of his Reign, at the nuptial Feast of a *Danish* Lord at *Lam-berk*

* *Simeon of Durban* says, that it was *Alfric* Archbishop of York that accus'd *Goodwin* and *Livingus* Bishop of Worcester of this Murder. *Sim. Dunelm.* p. 180.

*¹ This Year also, as *Brompton* tells us, *Hardicanute* sent over his Sister *Gunilda* to the Emperor *Henry*, to whom she had been betroth'd in her Father's Time; but before she went, the King kept her Nuptial Feast with that Magnificence, in Cloaths, Equipage, and Feasting, that *Matthew Westminister* says, it was remembred in his Days, and sung by Musicians at all great Entertainments. After the Princeps had been some time in *Germany*, she was accus'd of Adultery, and cou'd find, it seems, no better Champion than *Municon*, a little Page she had brought with her from *England*, to vindicate her Honour. The Page undertaking her Defence, fought a Duel with one *Rodim-gar*, a Man of a gigantick Stature, and by cutting his Ham-strings overcame him, and so clear'd his Lady's Honour; who took it so heinously to be accus'd, that she forsook her Husband, and retir'd to a Monastery, where she ended her Days. *Mat. West.* and *Brompton Chron.*

*herb**. Perhaps his Death was hasten'd on by Poison : but his Cruelty and Gluttony, which were carried to a monstrous Height, made him so odious, that he died regretted by none, neither was any Inquiry made into the Manner of his Death. All Historians unanimously agree, that he spent whole Days and Nights in Feasting and Carousing *. There is one however that praises him mightily for keeping open Table four times a Day, and exclaims against the Niggardness of the Kings his Successors, who abolish'd so laudable a Custom. Hunting.

20. *E D W A R D III. the Confessor.*

HARDICANUTE having left no Issue, *Edward E D. WARD III.* the Son of *Ethelred II.* and *Emma of Normandy*, was then the only Prince in *England* that had any Pretensions to the Crown. It was but reasonable the Race of the *Saxon* Kings shou'd be restor'd to the Throne they had been unjustly depriv'd of. But then it was no leis right and just to recall out of *Hungary* Prince *Edward*, the Son of *Edmund Ironside*, and place him on the Throne before his Uncle, who was one Degree farther remov'd. On the other Hand, the uninterrupted Succession of four *Danish* Kings, who sat on the Throne during the Space of 42 Years *, with the Consent of the *English*, started another Difficulty, seeing *Sweyn*, the Son of *Canute the Great*, was still alive. 'Tis true, he was reckon'd by some

as

* (i.e.) *A dirty Station.* Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, exchanging a Manor with the Bishop of Rochester, begun here a Palace in 1183.

* John Ronse of Warwick, in his Treatise *de regibus Anglia*, relates, that the Day of King Hardicanute's Death was kept by the English as a *Holy-Day* in his Time, 400 Years afterwards, and was call'd *Hog's-Tide*, or *Hock-Wednesday*.

** Rapin seems to be miſtaken here, ſince from *Sweyn's* being proclaim'd in 1014, to *Hardicanute's* Death in 1041, was but 27 or 28 Years at moſt.

*Edward
closes with
Goodwin.*

*Good-
win's Rife.*

as a Bastard. But besides that, the King his Father had not treated him as such in the Partition of his Dominions, it may be said in his Favour, that he ought to have the same Privilege with his Brother *Harold*, to whom his being born of the same Mother was no Bar to his mounting the Throne. It was therefore no easy Matter to settle the Succession to the Satisfaction of all Parties. On the contrary, 'twas to be fear'd that upon this Occasion the old Animosities between the two Nations would break out afresh, and the Kingdom be again plung'd into its former Calamities. *Edward* the Son of *Ethelred II.* having spent most Part of his Days in *Normandy*, was little known in *England*. Besides his Merit, which was not very conspicuous, he was incapable of setting off his Right. However, a lucky Thought, which Necessity constrain'd him to close with, procur'd him a Support, by which alone he was enabled to maintain his Pretensions, I mean, Earl *Goodwin*. Though 'twas but a few Months since that *Edward* had prosecuted this Lord as the Murderer of his Brother, he was advis'd to court his Protection, which he obtain'd with greater Ease than he durst have expected. *Goodwin* was so powerful, and of so superiour a Genius to the rest of the Nobility, that it wou'd have been next to impossible for *Edward* to have succeeded, if he had not gain'd him to his Side. He was already distinguish'd by his Merit, as well as by his Birth, when *Canute the Great* entrusted him with the Command of the *English* Troops, in the War against the *Vandals*. After that Expedition, wherein he signaliz'd himself, *Canute* made him Earl of *Kent*, *Sussex*, and *Surry*, and gave him in Marriage *Thyra*, Sister to Earl *Ulphon* to whom *Canute* had given his own Sister *Eftrith*, Widow of the Duke of *Normandy* (a). *Goodwin* had by this Wife a Son, who was drown'd in the *Thames*, by the

(a) Mr. *Tyrrel*, and others say, that *Goodwin's* first Wife was *Canute's* Sister; but according to *Pontanus*, she was only Sister to *Ulphon* Brother-in law to *Canute*, which is most probable.

the Means of an unruly Horse. His second Wife was *Gith*, Sister to *Sweyn*, who was King of *Denmark* after the Death of *Hardicanute*. By his Wife he had seven Sons, *Harold*, *Toston*, *Swane*, *Ulnoth*, *Garth*, *Elfgar*, *Lewin*, and a Daughter nam'd *Editha*. His great Credit with *Canute the Great*, the Superiority of his Genius, his noble Alliances, his Titles of *Earl of Kent*, *Duke of West-sax*, and his Post of High-Treasurer, conferr'd on him by King *Harold*; and lastly, the Government of the *Counties of Oxford* and *Hereford*, in the Hands of his eldest Son, had rais'd him to that Height, that it was difficult to advance him any higher. His Interest was somewhat eclips'd in the Reign of *Hardicanute*; but he had the Address to work himself out of the Danger he was threatened with. How great a Grudge soever the late King bore *Goodwin*, he was such an Enemy to Business, that not being able to bring himself to undergo the Fatigue the Administration of Affairs requir'd, he left all to his Management, as to one he judg'd the most able in the Kingdom. *Goodwin* knew so well how to improve these favourable Junctures, to ingratiate himself more and more with the *Nobles* and *People*, that his Power far exceeded that of all the other *English* Lords. From what has been said, it plainly appears how necessary *Goodwin's* Assistance was, in order to *Edward's* mounting the Throne, though his Right and Title had been stronger than they were. However, *Goodwin* was not one that neglected his own in promoting the Interests of others. Before he engag'd in his Causē, he brought *Edward* to Articles, and made him promise with an Oath, to marry his Daughter *Editha*. The Prince complied with these Terms, notwithstanding his inward Reluctance to espouse the Daughter of a Man whom he look'd upon as the Murderer of his Brother *Alfred*.

As soon as *Goodwin* had bound up *Edward* to the Conditions requir'd, he conven'd a *General Assembly*, where, by his Management, the Prince was acknowledg'd and

Edward promises to marry Goodwin's Daughter.

*He is pro-
claim'd King.*

proclaim'd King with unanimous Consent *. It was happy for the *English* there was then in the Kingdom never a Prince of the Family of *Canute the Great*, whom the *Danes* might have set up in Opposition to *Edward*. If *Sweyn King of Norway* had been on the Spot to head the *Danes*, it may reasonably be presum'd, either that his Pretensions wou'd have caus'd a Civil War, or that *England* wou'd have been once more divided into two Kingdoms. Without doubt the *Danes* wou'd never have suffer'd the Rights of the Royal Family of *Denmark*, four Princes whereof had successively sat on the Throne, to have thus fallen to the Ground. On the other Hand, the *English* were so averse to a *Danish Government*, that in all Appearance, they wou'd have run all Hazards to be delivered from it. But the present Juncture proving favourable to the *English*, they made the best of it, not only by placing on the Throne a Prince of their own Nation,

* *Brompton*, and some others, relate this Matter otherwise: Upon *Hardicanute's Death*, *Alfred* (whom some affirm to be slain in *Harold's*, some in *Hardicanute's Reign*) being invited over into *England*, *Goodwin* represented to the Lords that he was coming with great Numbers of *Normans*, to whom he had promis'd to give Estates. Upon which *Goodwin* was sent to meet him at *Southampton*, where, in order to make Way to the Crown for his own Son by *Canute's Daughter*, he serv'd him in the barbarous manner before related, in the Reign of *Harold*. The *English Nobles*, who had not approv'd of this Treachery of *Goodwin's*, vow'd Revenge; which *Goodwin* being inform'd of, fled into *Denmark*, and his Estate in *England* was confiscated. After this, the *English* sent over to *Edward*, to desire him to come and take Possession of the Crown. Shortly after his Coronation, *Goodwin* hearing of King *Edward's* gracious Temper, return'd into *England*, to petition for his Pardon and Estate again, and was accus'd by the King before an Assembly held at *London*, of his Brother *Alfred's* Murder. But with much ado, by the Intercession of *Leofric* and other Peers, the Matter was made up, and he was restor'd to all his Lands. *Brompton Chron.* p. 934, &c. *Huntingdon* agrees in the main with this Relation, but says, that *Goodwin* murder'd *Alfred* because he thought him of too high a Spirit to marry his Daughter, whom he aim'd to make Queen of *England*, by marrying her to *Edward*, an easy and simple Prince. But this, *Milton observes*, is contrary to all Records.

tion, also by ridding themselves of the Fear of falling again under a Foreign Yoke.

In the *General Assembly* above mention'd, to which, in Good-win's all likelihood, the *Danes* being then without a Leader, were not call'd, *Goodwin* strenuously harangu'd, to let the *English* see, "that a favourable Opportunity offer'd it *Danes*.
 " self to free themselves from the Oppression under
 " which they had groan'd for so many Years. He paint-
 " ed out in an eloquent manner, which was natural to
 " him, the Calamities their Country labour'd under
 " whilst in subjection to Foreigners. He display'd the
 " extreme Pride of the *Danes*, who, not content with
 " sharing the Kingdom with the *English*, treated them as
 " so many Slaves. He call'd to their Remembrance the
 " sad times, when an *Englishman* and a *Dane* meeting on
 " a Bridge, the former durst not stir a Step till the latter
 " was pass'd over. That if an *Englishman* did not make
 " a low Reverence to a *Dane*, he was sure to be soundly
 " cudgell'd. To all these Miseries he added that of the
 " excessive Taxes they had been oblig'd to pay, particu-
 " larly *Dane-Gelt* *, which was impos'd for no other End
 " but to satisfy the Avarice of their greedy Masters. In
 fine, he omitted nothing that might inflame the Rage of
 the *English*. This Harangue wrought so upon the Hear-
 ers, that it was resolv'd, no *Dane* for the future shou'd ever sit on the Throne of *England*. Some add, that the Enumeration of the Calamities, they had so long groan'd under, made such an Impression on their Minds, that, with one Consent, they took up the Resolution of dri-
Bromap-ton.
They re-solve to ex-pel the Danes, and do so.

* This Tax amounted to 40,000*l.* a Year. King Edward releas'd the Nation of this heavy Burden, in the Year 1051. The occasion of his so doing, tho' related by *Ingulphus*, will scarce be credited. As the King was one Day brought to see the huge heap of Money collected by this Tax, he started back as in a great Fright; and being ask'd the Reason, protest'd he saw the Devil capering and dancing over the Money. Upon which he order'd it to be all paid back to the People, and *Dane-gelt* to be abolish'd for ever, after it had been paid 38 Years. *Ingulph.* p. 65. Edit. *Gale.*

ving all the *Danes* out of the Kingdom, and accordingly put it in Execution forthwith.

The Difficulties in
this Passage of the
English History.

This is one of the most difficult Passages in the whole *English History*. Turn it which way you will, there is no accounting for it. In the first Place it is hard to conceive, how in a *General Assembly* of the Kingdom, it was possible they cou'd come to a Resolution of getting rid of the *Danes*, and much more, how it came to be in the Power of the *English* to put it in Practice. The *Danes* alone in a manner, were in Possession of all the *Eastern* and *Northern* Counties, and in *Mercia*, that is, in the Heart of the Kingdom, they were as numerous as the *English*. Four Kings of their Nation had reign'd successively, who, far from humbling them, had no doubt shown them great Favour, and given them the Preference. And yet, without any thing extraordinary happening, except the Death of *Hardicanute*, a Prince of little Merit and Reputation, they will have it that the *English* were suddenly become Superior. But this is not all, 'tis affirm'd, that this Superiority was so great as to enable them to expel the *Danes* out of the Kingdom. How is it possible to believe, that the *Danes* shou'd suffer themselves to be thus treated without making the least resistance? For it does not appear that there was any War or Commotion in the Kingdom upon this Occasion. The *Danish* Historians make the Matter still worse. They tell us, that all the *Danes* in *England* were massacred in one Night, by the Treachery of *Harold* the Son of *Goodwin*, who order'd all the *Danish* Soldiers to march out of their Garrisons, under pretence of solemnizing the Funeral of the late King (a). But this Account is altogether improbable; for in the first place, *Harold*, who was then very young, had no Hand in the Government, and consequently cou'd give no such Orders to the *Danish* Officers. In the next place, how

Pontanus.
Meursius.

(a) Éaque nocte, exiguo temporis Momento, vetustam Danorum dominationem, ac longo multoque Majorum sudore & sanguine partum imperium ita pessimum dedit ut vix unquam postea Danos Fortuna respergenter, Pont. in vit. Mag. Boni. l.v. An. 1045.

how came it to pass, that all the *English* Historians, *Brompton** only excepted, who says but very little of the Mat- * p. 934.
ter, shou'd agree to pass over in silence so remarkable an Event ? How was it possible for them to write their Histories without ever making the least Allusion to it ? If 'tis objected, they did this, as ashame'd of their Nation for so barbarous an Action, what is the Reason they acted not in the same manner with regard to the Massacre in the Reign of *Ethelred* ? These are Difficulties that are not easily to be got over. It seems at first, as if there was a plausible way of accounting for them, which is, to charge the Historians, as well *English* as *Danish*, of not having told the whole Truth, or of having aggravated what they relate. But by taking this Course we run into still greater Difficulties. It is most certain, that ever since the beginning of the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, the *Danes* have been so far from making any Figure in *England*, that they are not mention'd in History any more, than if they had never been known there, tho' just before they were Masters of the whole Kingdom. But whence shou'd proceed so sudden a Fall, or rather, how shou'd they all vanish in a Moment, if neither expell'd nor massacred ? History acquaints us not that War was made against them, that their strong Holds were taken from them, that they were brought under new Laws : But all on a sudden, these Powerful and Formidable *Danes* are reduc'd to nothing, in the Reign of a Prince the most unwarlike that had ever sat on the Throne. These are *Historical* Difficulties, the Solution whereof I am forc'd to leave to others. But to return to *Edward*.

He was a Prince of a weak Constitution, and a narrow *Genius*, not at all qualified to rule a large Kingdom. His unsteadiness and irresolution on important Occasions, his inability in publick Affairs, and his being wholly engross'd by Trifles, gave the *Nobles* an Opportunity of assuming a Power, very nearly approaching the Supreme Authority. As soon as they perceiv'd the Weakness of this Prince, they became so Arbitrary in their Governments, that they obey'd the King's Orders no farther than they

*King Edward's
Character.*

Ailred.

they were consistent with their Interest. Earl *Goodwin* especially usurp'd by degrees so great Power, that he had almost the same Deference paid him as the King himself. Perhaps that Easeiness of Temper he observ'd in *Edward*, was the principal Motive of his procuring for him the Crown, to the end he might govern in his Name. But how fair soever the King carried it towards him, in his Heart he utterly hated him and his whole Family. This was the true Reason that made him put off his Marriage with *Editha*, as long as he cou'd. But as he stood in Fear of this Lord, he durst not break his Word with him; and therefore after he had deferr'd it on several Pretences for two Years, he espous'd his Daughter, according to his Promise. However, he consummated not the Marriage, so great was his Aversion to all that belong'd to *Goodwin*. The Queen, who was a Person of strict Virtue, and endow'd with a Greatness of Soul, bore this Usage with a wonderful Patience. Instead of complaining of her hard Treatment, she never open'd her Mouth about it; but finding it was not in her Power to gain the Affections of the King her Husband, she diverted her Thoughts with doing Acts of Devotion, and reading Books *. The Author of the Life of *Edward* pretends, that this Prince had made a Vow of Chastity, long before his Marriage; and that he had perswaded the Queen to do the like. But *Malmsbury* does not know what to make of this Proceeding, and shows a strong Inclination to believe, that *Edward's* hatred to *Goodwin* was the real Cause of his abstaining from his Daughter. He durst not venture however to divorce her, for fear the Earl, by whose Interests he had mounted the Throne, might still have it in his Pow-

er

* *Ingulphus* says, she was not only the most beautiful, chaste, humble and modest Lady of her Time, but also very learned; insomuch that he tells us, when he was but a Boy, and liv'd at Court with his Father, she was us'd to meet him coming from School, and took delight in posing him not only in *Grammar*, but in *Logick* also. And when she had done, wou'd order her Servant to give him some pieces of Money. He farther says, she had nothing of her Father in her. Whence it was become a saying, *Sicut spinna Rofam, genuit Goodwinus Editham.* *Ingul. p. 62. Edit. Gale.*

er to depose him, or at least, to create him a great deal of Trouble. For this Reason, he continued to conceal, in all other Respects, his Aversion towards him, and even to heap Favours on him, till a fit Opportunity shou'd offer of showing his Resentment. He did not consider that by his dissembling the Matter, the Earl ingratiated himself more and more with the People, who imagining he was in great Credit with the King, the more firmly adher'd to him. *Goodwin* wisely improv'd these Advantages, and became every Day more formidable to the King, by the great number of Friends he acquir'd. In all probability, he wou'd have become in time, as powerful as the *Majors of the Palace* were formerly in *France*, if he had not met with a Counter-balance, which prevented his rising to that degree of Power, so fatal to the Royal Authority; I mean, *Seward Earl of Northumberland*, and *Leofric Duke of Mercia*. *Seward* had the Reputation of the bravest and most worthy Peer in the Kingdom. His excellent Qualities gave him great Authority at Court and among the *Northumbrians*, who were under his Government. *Leofric* was universally esteem'd and respected for his Merit. His Power was so great in *Mercia*, that he was more a King there than *Edward* himself. These two Lords uniting together in order to prevent *Goodwin* from soaring too high, firmly adher'd to the Person of the King, and endeavour'd to the utmost of their Power, to support his Authority. Without their Assistance, *Edward*, who was naturally a weak Man, wou'd have found it a very hard Matter to guard himself against the Artifices of so able and powerful a Subject as *Goodwin*. Thus Matters stood at the Court of *England*, during the first Years of this Reign. It was necessary to premise this, for the better understanding of the Sequel.

Edward, to whom is given the glorious Titles of *Saint* and *Confessor*, mounted the Throne with a Disposition of Mind somewhat repugnant to true Holiness. Besides his Hatred against *Goodwin* and his own Wife, he cherish'd in his Breast the desire of being reveng'd on his Mother, which ill agreed with the Rules of the *Gospel*. 'Tis true,

*The State
of Court.*

*Edward
takes from
the Queen,
his Mo-
ther, all
her Estate.*

his

Sax. Ann.

1042.

his Mother, who had never any great Affection for him, had done enough to fower him in marrying *Canute the Great*, the mortal Foe of her first Husband. She had moreover given her Consent, that the Children by her second Marriage shou'd succeed to the Crown of *England*; which shou'd she had but little regard for those by the first. This thing made so deep an Impression on *Edward's Mind*, that all her Endeavours afterwards to procure him the Throne were not able to efface it. As soon as he found it in his Power to make her feel the Effects of his Resentment, he delay'd not to do it. All on a sudden, when she least expected it, he came to *Winchester*, where her Treasures lay, and without showing the least regard for her, stript her of All, leaving her only a moderate Pensi-
on for her Subsistence. Thus this Princess, Widow of two Kings, Mother of two more, and Daughter of a Duke of *Normandy*, little inferior to a King, saw herself in the latter End of her Days, reduc'd to Poverty, by the Rigour of her own Son.

*and makes
her go thro'
the Ordeal
Tryal.*

Brompton.
Knighton.

* Win-
chester.

But *Edward* was not satisfied with having shown, by this Act of Violence, the little Regard and Affection he had for his Mother. Several Historians assure us, that he moreover had her accus'd of Incontinence with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*. They tell us, that without regarding her Quality, he was so hard-hearted as to make her undergo the *Ordeal Tryal*. This Tryal consisted in obliging the Party accus'd, to walk bare-foot and hood-wink'd, over nine red-hot Plough-shares. They pretend, *Emma* came off unhurt, and that she gave in Memory of this Deliverance, nine *Mannors* to the next Monastery *. But, as appears from what has been said before, she had none left to give. However this be, she liv'd ten Years in the Condition the King had reduc'd her to, confin'd to *Winchester*, as to a fort of Prison, from whence she was not deliver'd, till Death set her free in 1052 *.

Whilst

*: This Tryal of *Emma* is related by *Brompton* and *Knighton*, and embellish'd with some trivial Circumstances by *Harpesfield*. They tell us, *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a *Norman* (whom *Edward*

Whilst Edward was thus venting his Resentment against Sweyn his Mother, he receiv'd certain Advice, that a great Storm was gathering in the North. *Sweyn King of Norway*, the Son of *Canute the Great*, designing to lay claim to the Crown of *England*, was making Preparations for an Invasion with all Expedition, which put the *English* in dread of the like Miseries they had so long experienc'd, and from which, for some time they had been happily freed. Edward, who was no less alarm'd than his Subjects at the News of this Invasion, made some Preparations for his Defence. *Gunilda*, Niece to *Canute the Great*, fell a Sacrifice to his Fears. She was constrain'd to abandon the Kingdom and her Family, to prevent her contriving some Plot in Favour of the *Danes*. But by a lucky Turn, a War, which unexpectedly happen'd between the Kings of *Denmark* and *Norway*, broke the Measures of the latter, and brought Peace to the *English* contrary to their expectation. Some time after, *Sweyn* was depos'd by *Magnus* the Son of *Olaüs the Martyr*, whom *Canute the Great* had dispossess'd of *Norway*. *Magnus* was no sooner Master of that Kingdom, but he carried the War into *Denmark*, upon which the King, whose Name was also

*Gunilda
banish'd.*

1043.
*Norway
and Den-
mark at
War.*

Edward had brought over with him) accus'd the Queen of consenting to the Death of her Son *Alfred*, of endeavouring to poison her Son *Edward*, and of maintaining an infamous Commerce with Bishop *Alwin*. For which she was condemn'd by a Council held on purpose to purge herself by the Tryal of Fire Ordeal, as she had offer'd to do, and as it is related above. But this whole Matter admits of great Dispute. For *Malmsbury*, *Florence of Worcester*, *Huntingdon*, *Hoveden* and *Westminster*, who liv'd nearely the time, say not a word of this miraculous Purgation. Then again, *Brompton* says, *Robert* immediately fled the Kingdom, whereas he went not off, as *Malmsbury* assures us, till several Years after upon another occasion, as we shall see: Moreover he cou'd not be Archbishop then, since *Edsius* liv'd till 1050, which was three Years after *Alwin's* Death, (according to *Flor. West. Hoved. Chron. Mailr.*) whom *Brompton* supposes to be alive at the Tryal, for he says, he also gave nine *Manors* to the Church of *Winchester*. The *Saxon Annals* say, *Edsius* died in 1047. and *Alwin* in 1045. and therefore *Robert* cou'd not be Archbishop till two Years after his Death, according to the *Annals*. Thus this whole Story seems to be a mere Fiction.

Sweyn, demanding the Assistance of *England*, *Goodwin* was of Opinion, that to keep up the War between the two Princes, an Aid of fifty Sail shou'd be sent him. But *Seward* and *Leofric*, for Reasons unknown, prevented the Council from coming to this Resolution. For want of this Assistance, *Sweyn* was dethron'd; but was restor'd to his Kingdom, after the Death of his Enemy.

*The Danish
Pirates
make a Des-
cent on
England.*

The Troubles in *Denmark* hinder'd not the Piratical *Danes* from putting to Sea, and bringing Terror to the *English* Coasts. In the Year 1046. twenty five Sail of *Danes* arriv'd unlook'd for at *Sandwich*, from whence they carried off a great Booty. Then sailing for *Essex*, they carried away for Slaves, great numbers of both Sexes, and all Conditions. The *English* were extremely terrified; but *Goodwin*, *Seward*, and *Leofric*, took such Measures that the *Danes*, alarm'd in their turn, hastily retir'd, to carry their Ravages elsewhere.

*Swane, the
Son of Earl
Goodwin,
banished.* The Retreat of the *Danish* Pirates did not restore Peace to the Kingdom, the Sea-Coasts being that same Year infested by a new Enemy. *Swane*, the Son of *Goodwin*, having deflower'd an *Abbes*, with whom he was in love, and not daring to stay in *England* after such an A&t, was retir'd into *Denmark*, where he had in vain expected his Pardon, by the Mediation of the Earl his Father. But whether *Goodwin* was willing he shou'd be chastised, or whether he found the King inexorable, *Swane* was not able to procure a Pardon, so soon as he had imagin'd.

Upon which he mann'd out eight Ships, and made open War upon the *English*, plundering the Merchants, and committing such Barbarities on the Inhabitants of the Sea-Coasts, as exceeded those of the most cruel Enemies. His Infidelity gave *Goodwin's* Enemies a Handle to exasperate the King more and more against the Earl and his Family. He himself was at a great Loss what to do in this Affair. He was not willing to appear openly for his Son, least he shou'd be charg'd with abetting his Rebellion. On the other Hand, he cou'd not but be extremely concern'd at *Swane's* being declar'd an Enemy to the Publick. In this Perplexity, he desir'd Earl *Beorn*, the Son of *Ulphon* and *Estrid*,

Estrith, Sister to *Canute the Great*, to use his Interest with the King in behalf of his rebellious Son. Tho' *Beorn* had stoutly declaim'd against *Swane*, he was prevail'd upon by *Goodwin* to speak to the King, who complied with his request upon certain Terms. Matters being thus in a fair way of being made up, *Beorn* went to *Swane*, in order to perswade him to submit to the King's Mercy; but he was ill rewarded for all his Pains. *Swane* taking it in his Head that the Earl was come to betray him, slew him with his own Hand, and order'd his Body to be thrown into the Sea*. This brutal Action prevented a Reconciliation for the present. But the King forgave him afterwards, notwithstanding his many complicated Crimes: So much did this weak Prince stand in Fear of *Goodwin's* revenging himself, in case he continued inflexible. Thus *Goodwin*, tho' hated by the King, obtain'd as many Favours of him as if he had really held the first place in his Affections. But these good Offices, instead of producing a mutual Love, serv'd only to foment their Dis-union. The Earl did not think himself at all oblig'd to the King for Favours that proceeded partly from Fear; and the King increas'd his Hatred, in proportion as he found himself constrain'd to conceal it.

Besides the private Resentment of the King towards *Goodwin*, the Earl had also to deal with some other Enemies, who were continually stirring up the Prince against him. I mean the *Normans*, who were very numerous at Court, and in great Credit there. These look'd upon *Goodwin* as a profess'd Enemy, because he complain'd aloud of the great regard the King had for them, and made no scruple to say, they wou'd soon become as troublesome as the *Danes*. His Complaints were not altogether without Cause. *Edward*, who had been bred up among the *Normans*, went into all their Manners, and express'd such an Affection for them, as rais'd the Jealousy of the *English*,

1048.
Great Inter-
ests of the
Normans
with the
King.

* The *Annals* say, they buried his Body in a certain Church; but that afterwards his Relations and the Mariners of *London* digg'd up his Body and buried it at *Winchester* by King *Canute*. *Sax. Ann. MXLVI.*

The *Norman* Language was more spoke at Court than the *Saxon*. The Favour which the King shew'd the *Normans*, rendering them insolent, they took upon them mightily, and wou'd have all the World cringe to them. They who cou'd not bring themselves to this, seldom fail'd of feeling the Effects of their Resentment. *Goodwin* was one of this Number. He look'd upon himself as powerful enough to stand upon his own Feet, without their Help. So far was he from seeking their Protection, that he affected by his continual Railleries to show, that he thought it not in their Power to hurt him. *Robert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, of all the *Normans*, was in greatest Credit at Court. The King had taken him from a Monastery in *Normandy* to promote him to the Bishoprick of *London*, and afterwards to the Archbischoprick of *Canterbury*, to the great regret of several *English* Bishops, who aspir'd to that high Station. This Prelate, who was naturally of a haughty Temper, and whom his Interest with the King made still more arrogant, kept no Measures with *Goodwin*, who, for his Part, show'd the utmost Contempt for him. The Archbishop, incens'd at being thus treated, made use of all his Address to have a wrong Interpretation put on all the Earl's Actions, and to irritate the King still more against him.

Matters standing thus at Court, an Accident happen'd when least expected, which brought Earl *Goodwin* to the brink of Ruin, and gave the King an Opportunity of showing at last the Hatred he bore him. *Eustace*, Earl of *Bulloign**, being come to visit the King his Brother-in-law, was honourably and kindly receiv'd. *Edward* having a particular Affection for him. Some time after, as he was on the Road, in order for *France*, one of his People, who was sent before to provide him Lodgings at *Dover*, pick'd a Quarrel with a Townsman and kill'd him. This Accident making a great Noise among the Inhabitants, they ran to Arms, in order to seize the Murderer, who stood upon

*Earl of
Bulloign
comes into
England.
Malm.
Sax. Ann.
Quarrel
between
the Towns-
men at
*Dover.**

* He was Father to the famous *Godfrey of Bulleign*, who won *Jerusalem* from the *Saracens*.

upon his Defence, with some of the Earl's Domesticks that were with him. *Enrage*, entring the Town in the midst of this Tumult, and seeing his People attack'd, was oblig'd to take their Part, without having time to enquire into the occasion of the Quarrel. But being overpower'd with numbers, twenty of his Retinue were kill'd on the Spot, and he himself narrowly escap'd with his Life. *Inrag'd* at this Affront, he return'd to the King at *Glocester*, ^{He de-} where the Court was then, and loudly demanded Satisfaction. *Edward*, willing to do him Justice, order'd *Goodwin* to march immediately with some Troops, and chastise the Rioters that were under his Government. But instead of obeying the King's Order, the Earl warmly replied, that it was not the Custom in *England* to punish People unheard, and that the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects ought not to be violated; that the Accused shou'd be summon'd, and make satisfaction with their Bodies or Estates, if Guilty, or if Innocent, shou'd be discharg'd. He added, in a very haughty Tone, that being Earl of *Kent*, 'twas his Business to protect those that were under his Government, against the Insults of Foreigners. Some say, he even charg'd the King to deliver up the Earl of *Bulloign* into his Hands, that he might be punish'd upon the Place, if found guilty of this Riot. *Edward* was extremely nettled at this bold Answer; which was not only a downright refusal to obey his Commands, but also a stinging Reproach for his Partiality to Foreigners. The Archbishop and the rest of the *Normans* earnestly laid hold of this Opportunity to exasperate him against the Earl, and to blow up a Flame, which was already but too much kindled.

But how angry soever the King was, he was forc'd to conceal it, not being in a Condition to punish on the Spot, a Lord, whose Power rival'd his. *Seward* and *Leofric* being absent, he durst not attempt any thing against *Goodwin*, without being first assur'd of their Concurrence. In the mean time, as he was in the utmost Impatience of being reveng'd, he dispatch'd trusty Messengers to these two Lords, to inform them of his resolution to chastise *Goodwin*, and to order, or rather to desire them, to repair to

*The King is
resolv'd to
punish
Goodwin.*

Goodwin
prepares to
defend
himself.

to him forthwith. How privately soever this Matter was transacted, *Goodwin* had Notice of his Design, and took his Measures accordingly. As he was very sensible he shou'd be infallibly ruin'd, was he not before-hand with his Enemies, he drew together some Troops which were soon reinforc'd with others from his Son's Government. An Incursion the *Welsh* made at the same time into *Herefordshire*, furnish'd him with a Pretence to levy this Army. He gave out that these Forces were rais'd to drive the Enemy out of the Kingdom, though he had receiv'd no Orders about the Matter. In the interim, the King having summon'd him to appear before a *General Assembly* conven'd at *Glocester*, he came there with his Sons, but so well attended, that he had nothing to fear. Thus guarded as he was, the most Prudent knowing it wou'd have been dangerous to have push'd Matters too far, advis'd the King to hide his Resentments. They represented to him, that if the Earl stood on his Defence, as he seem'd resolv'd to do, 'twas to be fear'd he would draw to his Side the Majority of the People, whose Interests he seem'd to espouse, and therefore the giving him a Handle to carry his Audaciousness any farther, cou'd not be done without Danger. In Pursuance of this Advice such a Peace was patch'd up as *Goodwin* desir'd, that is, he came off by making some Excuses, which related more to his manner of acting, than to the main Point in Hand.

Is recon-
cil'd to the
King.

He is pro-
secuted a-
gain, and
banish'd.

This Reconciliation was of no long Continuance. *Edward*, who cou'd not digest the Affront he had receiv'd, took new Measures against *Goodwin*, by gaining over some of his principal Friends, by Presents and Promises. As soon as Matters were order'd to his Mind, he conven'd a *General Assembly*, before whom *Goodwin* and his Sons were summon'd to appear. But being inform'd a Design was laid of apprehending them, they refus'd to appear, unless they had a *Pas* and *Hoftages* given them for their Security. Upon which, they were banish'd the Kingdom, and the Combination against them held so well together, that they saw themselves abandon'd on a sudden by their principal Adherents,

Adherents, and forc'd to submit to the Sentence pass'd upon them. Edward, not content with having thus got rid of Goodwin, he shut up the Queen in the Nunnery of Warwel, with a Design, in all Appearance, never to take to her again. Goodwin retir'd to the Earl of Flanders, Father-in-law to his Son Toston, and Harold sail'd for Ireland, where he hop'd to meet with Assistance.

In the mean time Goodwin, who thought he had been unjustly dealt by, resolv'd upon endeavouring to right himself by Arms, having no other Course to take, as Matters stood between the King and him. The Earl of Flanders having furnish'd him with some Ships, he infested the Eastern Coasts of England, whilst Harold did the same to the Western. But these faint Attempts were to little Purpose, seeing their Forces were not very considerable; and therefore Goodwin return'd to Flanders, where for two Years together, he left no Stone unturn'd to persuade the Earl his Protector that it was for his Interest to lend him a powerful Assistance, and to have in England such a Friend as he was. Baldwin being at length prevail'd upon, granted him an Aid capable of rendering him formidable. Whilst on the other Hand, Harold mann'd out a good Number of Ships from Ireland. Edward having Intelligence of these Proceedings, fitted out a Fleet with all Expedition, the Command of which was given to Radulph of Mantes his Nephew (a), and another Lord nam'd Odda. These two Admirals being inform'd that Goodwin had been soon off Runney Point, resolv'd upon going in quest of him, in order to engage him; but he had time to sail off elsewhere. His Measures being thus broken by the King's Expedition, he steer'd his Course back again for Flanders, and sent Harold into Ireland. His view was to make the King believe, that he dropt his Undertaking, by reason of the Obstacles he met with. In the mean while he kept his Fleet always in a readiness to put to Sea, that he might lay hold of any Opportunity that might offer. Shortly after he had one given him, which he did not fail to

Edward prepares to repulse him.

(a) He was Son to Goda the Sister of Edward, and the Earl of Mantes.

to take the Advantage of. Whether the two Admirals had been wanting in Point of Duty or Conduct, or whether by the Intrigues at Court, which History has not vouchsafed to clear up, *Edward* on a sudden remov'd these two Lords from the Command of the Fleet. This Alteration, and the breaking some of the inferiour Officers, rais'd such Discontents among the Sailors, that they ran away in Shoals. Thus the King's Ships not being in a Condition to keep the Sea for want of Hands, were brought up the *Thames* in order to be mann'd again. *Goodwin*, by his Spies, being inform'd how Matters stood, puts to Sea immediately, and makes a Descent on the *Isle of Wight*, where he extorted great Sums from the Inhabitants, whilst he waited for his Son *Harold*'s joining him. The which being done, they sail'd up the *Thames*, and advanc'd towards *London*, where the King's Fleet lay. *Edward*, giving way to his Passion, was minded, with what Ships were ready, to go himself and try the Fortune of an Engagement; but his *Council* were against it. They represented to him, that instead of hazarding his Person in an Action, the Consequences whereof might prove very fatal, it wou'd be more for his own and the Kingdom's Advantage, to try to make *Goodwin* return to his Obedience, by calmer Methods. This was wholesome Advice; but it wou'd have been a hard Matter to bring the King to approve of it, had not *Goodwin*, who was inform'd of what pass'd at Court, pav'd the Way, by saving him the Shame of making the first Advances. He sent the King Word, that he was not come to fight against his Sovereign, but most humbly to intreat him to hear what he had to say in his Justification: That his coming thus arm'd, was only to defend himself against the Insults of his Enemies, and that he should always make it his chiefest Glory to be the most faithful of his Subjects. How respectful soever this Message might be, *Edward*, looking upon it as a sort of an insulting Banter, flatly refus'd to hearken to any Terms of Accommodation; affirming, he cou'd not resolve to pardon his Brother's Murderer. His Obstinacy had like to have had a fatal Effect. *Goodwin's Army*, entirely made

Goodwin enters the Thames, and comes up to London.

made up of Foreigners, who were in hopes of enriching themselves with the Plunder of London, was for engaging the King's Fleet without Delay. But the Earl, who was perfectly inform'd how the Council stood dispos'd, check'd the Ardour of his Soldiers, and behav'd in a very submissive Manner with regard to the King. His Moderation at length had its intended Effect. *Edward* was prevail'd upon by the principal Lords, and especially *Stigand* Bishop of *Winchester*, a fast Friend to *Goodwin*, to receive the Earl into Favour again, at least as to outward Appearance. He even agreed he shou'd be acquitted by the *General Assembly* of the Kingdom, of the Murder of Prince *Alfred*, which he was charg'd with anew, on Condition he wou'd give Hostages for his good Behaviour for the future*. *Goodwin* submitting to the King's Terms, put into his Hands his Son *Ulnoth*, and his Grandson *Hacune*, who were sent forthwith into *Normandy*, Edward not thinking he cou'd secure them in *England*. *Goodwin* and his Sons were restor'd to their Estates and Honours, and the King honourably took again the Queen his Wife, whom he imagin'd he had got rid of for his Life.

Upon the first News of Matters being made up between the King and the Earl, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* retir'd to the Monastery of *Jumièges* in *Normandy*. Shortly after his Departure he was banish'd the Kingdom by an *Assembly General*, as an Incendiary and Fomenter of Divisions between the King and his Subjects. *Stigand* was made Archbishop in his room, on Supposition that the See was become vacant by his Banishment, a Supposition that the Court of *Rome* would by no means admit. Thus ended the Affair of *Goodwin*. In all appearance this Lord was undone for ever; but, contrary to the Expectations of his Enemies, his Disgrace tended only to the making him

* Mr. Selden in his *Titles of Honour*, p. 525. refers that Relation in *Brompton's Chronicle*, taken Notice of in the Note above, at p. 54. to this *Assembly-General*. See more of it in the Dissertation on the Government of the *Anglo-Saxons*, under the Article of their *Laws*.

more powerful and formidable. This same Year he lost his third Son *Swane*, who being gone a Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*, died on the Road in some Place in *Syria*, where he fell into the Hands of Robbers *.

*The Duke
of Normandy vi-
sits Edward.*

*Edward's
extended
Will in his
Favour.*

The Court of *England* enjoying a profound Quiet ever since the Return of *Goodwin*, *William the Bastard*, Duke of *Normandy*, took this Opportunity to pay a Visit to *Edward*. Some say, *Edward* sent him word by *Archbishop Roberts* that he design'd to make him his Heir, and that his Aim in this Visit was to get a Confirmation of his Promise. But this is only Conjecture. However, be this as it will, during *William's* stay in *England*, the King took a Pleasure in showing his Gratitude for all the Civilities he had received both from him, and from the Duke his Father. 'Tis affirm'd, that after he had thus publickly testified his Gratitude, he gave him in private a more substantial Mark of his Affection, by making his *Will*, and nominating him for his Heir and Successor. If it be true that *Edward* made his *Will*, which however no-body ever saw, it is more probable he did it at this time, than when he was in *Normandy*. Whilst the Throne of *England* was fill'd by the *Danes*, whilst *Alfred* his elder Brother was alive, and likewise the Children of *Edmund Ironside*, how cou'd *Edward* foresee he shou'd ever be King of *England*? But at the time *William the Bastard* was in *England*, *Edward* bearing still a mortal Hatred to *Goodwin* in his Heart, notwithstanding their feign'd Reconciliation, might suspect him of aspiring to the Crown, and hope by this Settlement to break his Measures. But after all, it is much more probable that he made no *Will*, but contented himself with giving the Duke of *Normandy* some verbal Promise. However this be, 'Twas this *Will*, real or forg'd, or this verbal Promise, that furnish'd the Duke with a Pretence of becoming Master of *England*

* *Simeon of Durham* says, being prick'd in Conscience for the Murder of Earl *Beorn*, he went from *Flanders* bare foot as far as *Jerusalem*, and in his Return homeward died of a Cold he got in *Lycia*. *Simeon of Durham*. p. 186.

England after the Death of Edward. But it is very evident *Goodwin* knew nothing of this *Will*, or verbal Promise : The which may be inferr'd from his taking no Measures to prevent a *Norman* Prince from reigning over the *English*, tho' he was a sworn Enemy to the *Norman* Nation. By the way, the Situation of Affairs then in *England*, where *Goodwin* almost equall'd the King himself in Power, renders incredible what some have been so hardy as to advance, that *Edward* got his *Will* in favour of *William* confirm'd by a General Assembly.

'Twas to no Purpose that *Edward* did all he cou'd to prevent *Goodwin* from rising any Higher. This Earl's Power was grown to such a Height, that it might have been of fatal Consequence, had not Death freed the King from this hated Subject at a time he was become the most Formidable. If we belive certain Historians, *Goodwin's* Death was attended with extraordinary Circumstances, which wou'd highly deserve our Notice, were they better attested. They tell us, as the King was one day sitting at Table with the Earl, he let fall some words, which plainly show'd, that the Murder of the Prince his Brother was not yet thoroughly blotted out of his Mind. They add, that *Goodwin* not doubting but he reflected upon him, rose up, and addressing himself to the King, *I perceive, My Lord,* (says he with a great deal of Emotion) *by what you just now said, that you still think me guilty of the Death of the Prince your Brother, tho' I have been publickly acquitted of it.* *But to give you a fresh Proof of my Innocence, I pray God that this Morsel I am going to put into my Mouth, may choak me this Moment, if I had any hand in the Death of that Prince.* They pretend, that upon saying these Words, he went to swallow the fatal Morsel, but it stuck in his Throat and choak'd him immediately, to the great Astonishment of the Standers by. But this Particular, had it been true, was too remarkable to have been omitted by Historians of the best Credit, who make no mention at all of it. They agree that *Goodwin* died suddenly, as he sat at Table with the King, but say not a Word of the above-mention'd Circumstances, which in all probability were invent-

1053.
Good-
win's
Death.

Harold his Son succeeds him. ed to blacken the Memory of the Earl and his Family *. *Harold* his Eldest Son succeeded him in all his Posts, and those he had before his Father's Death were given to *Alfgar*, the Son of *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*.

Harold's prudent Conduct. The Death of *Goodwin* made no great Alteration in Affairs. *Harold* had the same Friends, the same Creatures, and the same Interest as the Earl his Father had when alive. All the Difference to be observ'd between the Father and Son, was, that the Son was of a Temper more courteous, and condescending, carried himself with a great deal less Pride, and behav'd in a more respectful and submissive manner to the King. He was in hopes, by his Carriage, to blot out of the King's Mind the Ill-will he had so long bore his Family; but all to no Purpose. *Edward* perhaps had not so great an Aversion for him, as he had for his Father; but however he stood as much in Fear of him, as indeed he had good reason to do. *Harold*, of as great Parts and Abilities as his Father, but withal of more Honour and Conscience, firmly gain'd over to his Interests both the *Nobles* and People, by his civil and obliging Behaviour, whereas *Goodwin*'s Haughtiness and Pride lost him many Friends. In the mean while, the same Reasons that constrain'd the King to carry it fair with the Father, oblig'd him to do the same with the Son. Tho' he lov'd him not, he durst not show his Ill-will, least it shou'd prove the Occasion of a Rupture, which cou'd not but be of very bad Consequence, considering

Harold's

* The *Saxon Annals* say only, This year Earl *Goodwin* deceas'd the 17th of the *Kalends of May*, and was buried in the old Monastery at *Winchester*. Anno. MLIII. Almost all our Historians say, King *Edward* celebrating the Feast of *Easter* at *Winchester*, (some say *Windsor*,) Earl *Goodwin* was taken Spee chles as he sat at Table; and being carried into the King's Chamber by his Sons, he lay in a languishing Condition four days, and died the fifth. This is the Account of his Death: but the *Norman* Monks, and such as write in favour of them, add the above-Circumstances, which show either his Guilt or their Malice. He was a Man of an active or turbulent Spirit, not over-conscientious in getting or keeping what he cou'd. But had he not been so great a Lover of his Country and an Enemy to Foreigners, those who wrote in the *Norman* times wou'd have given him a fairer Character.

Harold's great Credit both at Court and with the People.

If the overgrown Power of the *Goodwin Family* created Uneasiness in the King, it was in some Measure balanc'd by the Satisfaction he had in seeing his Kingdom exempt from War, ever since his Accession to the Throne. But this Tranquillity, which cou'd not but be very grateful to a Prince of so unwarlike a Temper, was somewhat interrupted by a Quarrel with *Macbeth King of Scotland*, who had made himself Master of *Cumberland*. This little Kingdom, which for a long while had been under the Protection of the Crown of *England*, was in Dispute between *Macbeth*, and *Malcolm*, a Lord of the Royal Family of *Cumberland*. Edward espousing the Cause of *Malcolm*, commission'd *Syward* to restore him to his Kingdom. This War lasted not long. *Syward* by one decisive Battle oblig'd *Macbeth* to abandon *Cumberland*, and leave his Rival in possession of it *. *Syward* had scarce finish'd this Affair, when he was feiz'd with a Distemper, that laid him in his Grave. When he found he was near his End, he got upon his Legs, and causing his Armor to be put on, expir'd in that Posture, declaring 'twas a shameful thing for a brave Man to die in his Bed *'.

1054.
War for
Cumber-
land.

1055.
Death of
Syward.

After

* *Mat. Westminster* says, but without any Authority, that King *Edward* conquer'd all *Scotland*, and bestow'd it on *Malcolm* to hold it of him. Others seem to say he destroy'd *Macbeth*, and made *Malcolm King of Scotland*. *Sim. Dunel.* But most probably 'twas only of *Cumberland*.

* *Simeon of Durham* says, Earl *Syward's Son* was slain in the Battle with *Macbeth*; and *Huntingdon* adds, that when the News was brought him, he ask'd, whether he had receiv'd the wound, before or behind? and being told, Before; He only replied, I am glad to bear it, for so it became my Son to die. *Brompton* says, he was a Man of almost a gigantick Stature, and gives us this strange Account of his Grandmother the Daughter of a certain *Danish Earl*. As she was one Day walking in a Wood near her Father's House, accompanied only with her Women, a huge Bear rush'd from among the Trees, and frightening away her Attendants, carried off the young Lady alone; and getting her with Child. She had a Son by him, nam'd *Bernus*, who was born with Bear's Ears; however by his Mother's Right he succeeded to her Father's Earldom,

Toston,
Harold's
Brother,
made Earl
of Nor-
thumber-
land.

After the Death of this Earl, the Government of Northumberland was bestow'd on *Toston*, Brother to *Harold*, *Edward* not being Master of Resolution enough to refuse him that Favour, tho' he dreaded nothing more than the raising that Family. Some will have it that this was done out of *Policy*. They pretend that the King, by making as if he did it to gratify *Harold*, fill'd up the vacant Post with the properest Person to give a Check to his Ambition, by reason of the mutual Jealousy between the two Brothers. But it does not appear that *Harold* and *Toston* were then at variance, tho' 'tis true, they fell out afterwards. 'Twas therefore very imprudently done to trust any one Family with two such important Posts as *Duke of Wessex*, and *Earl of Northumberland*, which puts one Moiety of the Kingdom in the Power of the two Brothers. Thus the King, tho' he stood in the greatest dread of the *Goodwin Family*, either out of Weakness, or false *Politicks*, did every thing to render them more Powerful.

Harold's
Cred: in-
creases.

But 'twas not only by the King's Favours that Earl *Harold* daily got Ground. His personal Merit and liberal Temper procur'd him such Friends every Day, as were able to support him against the Attempts of the King himself. Tho' he had married the Duke of *Mercia*'s Daughter, *Alfgar* his Brother-in-law carried it very coldly towards him, purely out of Envy at his Greatness. This Lord, being of a stirring and turbulent Spirit, enter'd into a dangerous Conspiracy, and privately held Intelligence with *Griffin*, King of *Wales*, to the Detriment of the Publick. *Edward* being inform'd of it, had him accus'd of Treason and condemn'd to Banishment. *Alfgar* retir'd to his Friend *Griffin*, who receiv'd him with open Arms, and fomented his Discontent to the utmost of his Power *. Some time

Retires to
Wales, and
joins King
Griffin.

Earldom. In process of time he prov'd a valiant Soldier, and marrying, begot the brave Earl *Sward*, who came and settled in *England*. *Bromp.* p. 945.

* Historians are divided in their Opinions, whether this Earl was banish'd justly or not. *Simeon of Durhams* and *Brompton*, say he went to *Ireland* first, and procuring 18 Ships, went and join'd *Griffin*.

time after they made an Inroad into *Herefordshire* and defeated *Radulph*, Earl of that County, who had attempted to drive 'em thence. Encourag'd by this Success, they began to make farther Advances*, when they met Earl *Harold*, who stopp'd their Career. He had, of his own accord, levied an Army in his Governments, and boldly march'd towards them, to give them Battle. They quickly found the Difference between him and *Radulph*. *Harold*, superior in Valour and Conduct, put them to rout, and compell'd them to retreat into *Wales*, from whence they durst not come forth any more. A Peace being the Fruits of this Victory, *Harold* made use of all *Alfgar* restor'd. his Interest to obtain a Pardon for *Alfgar*, and got him at length restor'd to his Estate and Honours. By this uncommon Act of Generosity, he gain'd the Friendship of *Alfgar*, and wonderfully increas'd the Esteem the World had of him before.

*They are
defeated by
Harold.*

The Reputation *Harold* acquir'd in this last Expedition, his Generosity to *Alfgar*, his affable and obliging Behaviour, his beneficent Temper, entirely gain'd him the Hearts of the People. They began to talk openly, that since the King had no Heirs, no one was so worthy to succeed him as *Harold*. The Affection of the *English* for the Earl, very sensibly touch'd *Edward*, who had all along liv'd in hopes of an Opportunity to ruin him. Hitherto it seems as if this Prince had a Design of leaving the Crown to the Duke of *Normandy*, since he was not ignorant that he had a Nephew in *Hungary*, and yet had never once thought of recalling him Home and securing him the Succession. But the Moment he found Earl *Harold* aspir'd to the Crown, or at least, that the People mark'd him out for his Successor, he judg'd 'twou'd be in vain to set up a *Foreign* Prince, in competition with an *English* Earl back'd with so great Power and Credit. This in all Probabi-

1057.
*The People
talk of
Harol'd's
succeeding
to the
Crown.*

* They took and sack'd *Hereford*, burning the Church and Monastery with the Relicks of King *Ethelbert* treacherously slain by King *Offa*. *Hereford* (i. e.) *the Ford of the Army*, was built as a Frontier in the time of the *Hegemony*. This was the only Misfortune that ever happen'd to this City. *Camb.*

Edward sends for his Nephew from Hungary. Probability, was the Reason that induc'd him at last to send for Edward his Nephew, the Son of Edmund Iron-side, out of Hungary. He shou'd have done this long before, had he not design'd to have dispos'd of the Crown in favour of the other. Prince Edward came into England in 1057, bringing with him his young Son Edgar, with Margaret and Christina his Daughters, who were all three born in Hungary. The Arrival of this Prince, the Son of a King of England, whose Memory was dear to the Nation, cou'd not but be very acceptable to the English; and therefore, without Hesitation, they look'd upon him as the *Heir Apparent* to the Crown, their Esteem for Harold giving place to their Affection for the Royal Family. Indeed, there was no calling in Question this young Prince's Right to succeed his Uncle, since, had he not been absent when 'twas debated who shou'd sit on the Throne after Hardicnute, there is no doubt but he wou'd have had the Preference even before King Edward himself. Which Consideration was apparently the Reason the King his Uncle left him so long in Hungary, leaft his Presence might occasion some dangerous Commotions. But this Prince, who seem'd design'd for the Crown, died soon after his Arrival in England, leaving his just, tho' empty Title, to Edgar his Son, surnam'd Atheling*.

and of Leofric, Duke of Mercia. Leofrick, Duke of Mercia, quickly followed him, this same Year. Historians give this Lord a great Character; but especially they extoll Godiva his Wife, above all the Women in her time. 'Tis related of this Lady, that in order to free the Inhabitants of Coventry from a heavy Tax laid on them by her Husband, she readily consented to perform a very extraordinary Act. The Earl, upon her interceeding in their Behalf, told her, he wou'd ease them of their Burden, provided she wou'd ride on Horseback naked, from one End of the Town to the other. This Condition gave the Burghers but little Hopes of being reliev'd. But Godiva undertook the Matter, covering her Body with

* (*i. e.*) Truly Noble, to denote his being of Royal Blood. His Father, Prince Edward, surnam'd the Out-law, was buried at St. Paul's London. Sax. An. MLVII.

Godiva's Adventures.

with her Hair, and commanding all Persons to keep within Doors and from their Windows, on Pain of Death. How great soever the Penalty was, there was one, who cou'd not forbear giving one Look out of Curiosity, but it cost him his Life. In memory of whom, there is a Statue of a Man looking out of Window, always kept in a certain House at Coventry*. *Alfgar* succeeded to his Father's Earldom, by *Harold's* Interest, who earnestly interceded for him.

Harold's Ambition and Hopes had new life put in them by Prince *Edward's* Death. 'Tis true, he had left a Son behind him, but so young that it seem'd no hard Matter to set him by. Besides, it was possible he might die before the King. Accordingly, *Harold* was resolv'd to make the best of the present favourable Conjunction. But before he openly discover'd his Designs, he thought it requisite to get out of the Hands of the Duke of *Normandy*. *Ulnoth* his Brother and *Hacune* his Nephew, whom the Earl his Father had given for Hostages to the King. But tho' he was very urgent in demanding them, alledging, that since *Goodwin* was dead, there was no Manner of Reason to keep them any longer, and that 'twou'd be highly unjust

1062.
Harold af-
pires to the
Crown.

* But whether this be so or no, there is a *Procession* or *Cavalcade* still made there every Year, in memory of *Godiva*, with a *Figure*, representing a *naked Woman* riding thro' the City. The Pictures of *Leofric* and *Godiva* were also set up in the Windows of *Trinity Church*, with this Inscription:

*I Luric, for the Love of Thee,
Do set Coventry Toll-free.*

This City had its Name either from the *Convent* new-built and richly endow'd by *Leofric*, or, as some will have it, from a Rivulet running thro' it, now call'd *Shirburn*, but in an old *Charter* of the *Priory, Cuerford*. This City was famous for its Walls, which were demolish'd in *Charles II.* Time, and the Gates only left standing. In one of which, nam'd *Gofford*, is to be seen the vast *Shield-bone* of a Boar, which they tell you was slain by *Guy Earl of Warwick*, after he had with his *Snout* turn'd up the *Pool* or *Pond* now call'd *Swineswell-Pool*, but in antient *Charters*, *Swineswell*. Here is also a fine *Cross* built (33 *Hen. VIII.*) by Sir *William Hollies Lord Mayor of London*, Camb.

to deprive them of the Benefit of an *English* Education, yet he cou'd not prevail with the King. *Edward* always put him off with saying, they were not in his Power, but in the Duke of *Normandy's*, and therefore to him he was to make application. In fine, *Harold* perceiving he cou'd get no other Answer from him, desir'd leave to go into *Normandy*, to sollicite the Duke for their Deliverance. His Request was very readily granted. Nothing cou'd be more agreeable to the King, than the Earl's Resolution of going to *Normandy*, not at all questiong but the Duke wou'd detain him there. At least, he hoped, Duke *William* wou'd take such Measures as wou'd free him from all Obstacles the Earl might lay in his way *.

*He sets out
for Nor-
mandy:*

*Is seiz'd by
the Earl of
Ponthieu.*

Harold having obtain'd the King's Consent, embark'd for *Roan*, without the least Suspicion of the Danger he was running into, being ignorant of the King's Intention with relation to the Succession *. Hardly was he got at Sea, but a Tempest arose, which drove him on the Coast of *Picardy*, and compell'd him to put in at one of the Ports of the Earl of *Ponthieu*, where he was immediately seiz'd. As soon as they knew who he was, they carried him to *Guido* Earl of *Ponthieu*, who, glad to find himself Master of so rich a Prize, was resolv'd to set a round Price on his Head. It wou'd have been a difficult thing for *Harold* to have got off, had he not, whilst he pretended to treat about his Ransom, found the Means to inform the Duke of *Normandy* how Matters stood with him. As soon as the Duke receiv'd the News, he sent and demanded

* *Harold's* going to *Normandy* is variously related as to the Time, Manner and Occasion of it. With our Author agree *Simeon of Durham*, *Brompton* and *Eadmer*, only with this Addition, that King *Edward* foretold him what wou'd happen to him. *Malmsbury* says the Occasion of it was this. *Harold* being at his House at *Bosham* in *Sussex*, had a mind to go out in a Fisher-boat for his Diverion, but sailing further than he was aware, a Tempest arose and drove him as is here related by *Rapin*. *Matthew Paris* believes also, he was driven by a Tempest to *Normandy*, where to gain his Liberty he was forc'd to do as is here related. So uncertain are Traditional Accounts! Our Author's Conduct thro' this whole Affair seems to be the most natural and likely.

manded the Prisoner of the Earl of *Ponthieu*, letting him know, that he had no manner of Pretence to detain a *Stranger*, that was going to *Roan*, and by a Tempest cast on his Coasts: The Earl not daring to dispute the Case with the Duke, set the Prisoner at *Liberty*, who immediately went on to *Roan*. Duke *William* not being ignorant of *Harold's* Designs on the Crown of *England*, was at a great Loss how to behave towards him. He had but two Ways to take, both equally dangerous. He must either detain *Harold* by Force, or try to gain him by fair Means. If he went the first way to work, he was apprehensive of declaring himself too soon, since 'twou'd not be for his Interest, that the *English* as yet shou'd know he had any Thoughts of succeeding to the Crown. Besides, *Harold* had so many Friends in the Kingdom, 'twas to be fear'd the detaining him wou'd occasion a Rupture between *England* and *Normandy*, which wou'd break all the Measures the King shou'd take in his Favour. And indeed, in case *Edward* shou'd die during the War, how was it possible for him to leave the Crown to a Prince that was actually in Arms against the *English* Nation? Moreover, *Harold* being Duke of *Wessex* and Earl of *Kent*, all the strong Places in the *Southern* Parts were in the Hands of his Creatures, and consequently this wou'd lay great Obstacles in the Duke's way. In fine, the Duke had not perfect Information what Steps *Harold* had made to pave his Way to the Crown; as on the other Hand, *Harold* was ignorant of the Designs of the King and Duke. The Duke consider'd further, that by detaining *Harold* in Prison, he shou'd break the most sacred Rights of Hospitality, which a great Soul cou'd not be guilty of without offering extreme violence to itself. These Considerations induc'd him to take the other Course, tho' it was no less dangerous. By laying himself open to *Harold*, he put it in his Power to prevent the Execution of his Designs. However; believing he shou'd gain him by putting so great a Trust in him, he plainly told him the Hopes he had of one day mounting the Throne of *England*, grounded on

*Is set at
Liberty,
and comes
to Roan.*

*The Duke
at a Loss
how to act.*

the Good-will the King bore him *. This Discovery was follow'd with large Promises, in case he wou'd support his Pretensions, and the Assurance of a Reward proportionable to so important a Piece of Service. He let him know moreover, that his aspiring to the Crown, tho' not of the Royal Family, was no secret to him, and endeavoured to make him sensible, how many Difficulties he had to encounter before he cou'd attain to his Ends. To divert him from his Purpose, he laid before him all the Obstacles, he must naturally expect to meet with, as well from *Edgar*, as the other *English* Lords, who wou'd look on his Ambition with a jealous Eye. To these Considerations he added this material one. He roundly gave him to understand, that provided he was so fortunate, as to surmount all the Obstacles he had mention'd, he wou'd still find in him an Enemy, who wanted neither Money nor Arms, nor Friends to maintain a Right he was resolv'd to defend to the last drop of his Blood. In fine, he represented to him, that in case he was bent to pursue his first Design, instead of securing, as he might now do, a Power and Grandeur, second to none but the Supreme, he ran the risk of losing a certain Good, for the Hopes of a very great Uncertainty.

**Harold
dissimiles
the Matter,
and pro-
mises to
stand by
the Duke.**

Harold was too wise not to see that on this Occasion he had but one Course to take; which was, to make as if he were convinc'd by the Reasons the Duke had alledg'd. He return'd him therefore in answer, That indeed, before the Arrival of Prince *Edward*, he had been of Opinion, that, had the King dy'd without Heirs, he was as worthy to ascend the Throne as any other Nobleman of the Kingdom. He even own'd, that he had gone so far as to take some Measures, which might give him hopes of Success: But that he had dropt his Design ever since the coming of *Edward*, being sensible there was no Room to pretend to the Crown, as long as there were Princes of the Royal

* *Simeon of Durham* says, the Duke told *Harold* that *Edward*, whilst at his Court, promis'd to settle the Crown of *England* on p. 196.

Royal Family in *England*. In fine, he added, that since he was acquainted with his Pretensions, and the King's Mind, which till then he had been ignorant of; he had much rather the Kingdom should be governed by so great a Prince as the Duke was, than by *Edgar Atheling*, who scarce knew how to govern himself. To convince him the more that he was in good earnest, he came to Terms with him, and among others, demanded one of his Daughters in Marriage, as a Reward for the Service he design'd to do him. Whatever *Harold* requir'd was immediately and joyfully complied with. But as the Princefs the Duke design'd for him was too young, the intended Marriage was put off till time convenient. In the Interim, Duke *William*, not trusting wholly to *Harold*'s bare Word, made him swear on the Gospels that he wou'd punctually perform what he had promis'd; especially, that he wou'd never attempt to mount the Throne of *England*. This Agreement being made, they parted both of them extremely well satisfied in outward Appearance, and *Harold* return'd into *England* *.

He was no sooner at Liberty, but he look'd upon his *Harold* Oath as extorted from him, and consequently not bind-
takes new
Measures
to secure
the Suc-
cession to
himself.
ing. He could not understand upon what Grounds the Duke of *Normandy* could pretend to the Crown of *Eng-*
land, or by what Right *Edward* could transfer it to a *Fo-*
reigner. And therefore, so far was he from any Thoughts of standing to his Engagements, that he was resolv'd to take the Advantage of the Duke's entrusting him with his Designs, by managing Matters so as to render them abortive. From thence-forward he us'd a double Diligence to strengthen his Party in such a manner, as should put it out of the Power of the King or Duke to lay any Obstacles in his Way. If hitherto he had entertain'd any Scruple with regard to Prince *Edgar*, it entirely vanish'd

* The Duke made *Harold* swear to deliver up *Dever* as soon as King *Edward* was dead. Then loading him with Presents, dismiss'd him with his Nephew *Hacune*, promising to bring over *Ulroth* his Brother when he himself shou'd come into *England*. Sim. Dunel. p. 196.

nish'd upon consideration that in mounting the Throne himself, he should do no Injury to that Prince, since the Crown wou'd be otherwise disposed of even by his Uncle the King. He exerted therefore his Endeavours to secure an Interest in all the great Lords of the Kingdom; which he found no hard Matter to do. The Duke of Normandy was absent, and but little known in *England*, where moreover the *Normans* were extremely hated. Prince *Edgar*, by reason of his Youth, was in no Condition to put a Stop to Proceedings so destructive to his Claims. As for the King, he was so unresolv'd in the Affair of the Succession, that he promoted the Interest neither of the Prince his Nephew, nor of the Duke. He was, no doubt, at a loss how to reconcile the two Steps he had made; the Promising the Duke of Normandy, and the Recalling his Nephew from *Hungary*. He had no farther View, than the passing his Days in Peace, without troubling himself about what shou'd happen after his Death. Thus every thing concurring to favour *Harold's* Designs, he omitted nothing that might serve to confirm the good Opinion the *English* had of him. To which End, two very good Opportunities offer'd quickly after.

1063.
Harold
subdues
the Welsh.
Sim. Dur.
Flor.

The *Welsh* having renew'd their Incursions, under *Griffin* their King, *Harold* and *Tolton* his Brother join'd their Forces to repulse them. They were so fortunate in this Expedition, that after having had the Better several times of the *Welsh*, they compell'd them to dethrone *Griffin*, and become tributary to *England*. *Griffin* being restor'd afterwards, and renewing the War with the *English*, *Harold* march'd to the Frontiers of *Wales*, and struck such a Terror into the *Welsh*, that they sent him the Head of their King *. This Event, which demonstrated, how

* This was the End of *Griffith ap Llewelyn* to whom the *Welsh Chronicles* give the Character of a valiant and generous Prince, and for the most part victorious, till now he perish'd by the Treachery of his own People. *Harold* sent the Head with the gilded Stern of *Griffin's* Ship, which the *Welsh* had brought with the Head, to the King at *Glocester*. *Florence of Worcester* adds, that the Brothers of *Griffin* swore Fealty to *Harold* as well as to the King.

how formidable *Harold* was to the Enemies of the King-dom, confirm'd the *English* in their Opinion, that he, who knew so well how to defend it, deserv'd to wear the Crown.

Another thing happen'd also, which added new Lustre to *Harold's* Character, by affording him an Opportunity of giving Proofs of his Moderation and Equity, as he had just done of his Valour and Conduct. *Toston* his Brother, Earl of *Northumberland*, treated the *Northumbrians* with such Severity, and committed so many Acts of Injustice, that in fine, the People not being able to bear his Cruelties any longer, took up Arms against him, and expell'd him *Northumberland*. This Action being of a dangerous Consequence, *Harold* was order'd to go and chastise them, and restore his Brother. As soon as he came near them, the *Northumbrians* sent Deputies to inform him of the Reason of their Rising. They told him, they had no Design of withdrawing their Obedience from the King, but only from an unjust and cruel Governor, who exercis'd over them a Tyrannical Power, which neither they nor their Forefathers had ever been accustom'd to. At the same time, they gave him to understand, that they were resolv'd to hazard their Lives, rather than submit to the like Power again. However, they solemnly protested, that provided the King wou'd set over them one that wou'd govern them according to the Laws and Customs of their Country, nothing shou'd be able to shake their Fidelity. To these Remonstrances they added a long List of the *Grievances* they had suffer'd under *Toston*, and entreated *Harold* to prefer the Good of the Publick before the Interests of his own Family. *Harold* finding that this Affair related chiefly to *Toston*, and that the King was not directly concerned in it, sent an impartial Account of the whole Matter to the Court. At the same time he interceded for the *Northumbrians*; and not content with obtaining their Pardon, he procur'd them *Morkard*, the Son of *Affgar* Duke of *Mercia*, for their Governor*. By

¶ Whom they themselves earnestly desir'd to have. The occasion

By these just Proceedings he entirely gain'd the Affections of the *Northern* People, and knit the Band of Friendship between him and *Alfgar* closer than before : The which was absolutely necessary for the bringing about his Designs.

A barbarous Act of Toston's. But if by these Actions he encreas'd in Favour with the People, he exasperated by them to the last Degree his Brother *Toston*, who never forgave him. But as it was not in his Power to vent his Fury on *Harold's* Person, he turn'd it upon some of his Domesticks, whom he caus'd to be cut in Pieces, then to be barrell'd up, and sent to his Brother for a Present. After so barbarous an Action, not daring to stay any longer in *England*, he retir'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin* his Father-in-law.

1065. Whilst *Harold* was thus paving his Way to the Crown, *Edward* gave himself but little Trouble about the Busines of the Succession, which he had exceedingly embroil'd by the Engagements he had enter'd into with the Duke of *the Church of Normandy*. His Thoughts were wholly engross'd about building the Church and Monastery of *Westminster*; on which he laid out the Money he should have expended in

a

caſion of their Insurrection at this very time was this: One *Gofpatrick*, a great Officer in *Northumberland*, having been murther'd at Court by Queen *Editha's* Order, (tho' this seems contrary to her meek and pious Temper) on account of a Quarrel between him and her Brother *Tofton*; and he likewise killing in his own Lodgings two of *Gofpatrick's* Friends, the People incensed at it, and at his other Grievances above-mention'd, rose to a Man, and were not appeas'd till he was banish'd the Land. *Flor. Sim. Dun.*

* *Huntingdon* (who had heard many Tales about the hatred of *Goodwin's* Sons to one another) tells us another Story of this Matter. The King, as he was at Dinner, ordering *Harold* to serve him with the Cup, *Tofton* was so enraged at his being preferr'd before him, that he flew in his Face in the King's Presence, and pull'd him down to the Ground by his Hair. But the Soldiers coming in and parting them, *Tofton* in a Rage left the Court, and going to his Brother's Country House, serv'd his Domesticks as is above related. Upon which the King commanded him to be banish'd, and the *Northumbrians* expell'd him their Country. But this does not seem probable; for what Occasion had the *Northumbrians* to rise against him, seeing he was banish'd before by the King?

a Journey he had formerly vow'd to take to *Rome*, from which he was dispens'd with by the Pope upon that Condition. In this very Place, call'd *Thorney* by the *Saxons*, stood formerly a famous Temple sacred to *Apollo*. *Sæberæ* King of *Essex*, after he had embrac'd the Gospel, converted this *Pagan* Temple into a Christian Church, which was destroy'd by the *Danes*. This Church, after having lain a long time in Ruins, *Edward* undertook the rebuilding of, with an adjoining *Monastery*, which from its lying *West of London*, was call'd *Westminster**. In procs of time, a City was built here by Degrees, which almost r'vall'd *London* itself. These two Cities, separated only by a Gate, have distinct *Magistrates* and *Privileges*, tho' they have often been confounded under the common Name of *London*. The Church and Monastery being finish'd towards the latter End of the Year 1065, *Edward* was desirous the *Dedication* shou'd be perform'd in a very *solemn* manner. To this End he conven'd at *London* a *General Assembly*, at which were present all the *Bishops* and *Great Men* of the Kingdom, who were to be Witnesses of this Ceremony. At this very time it was, that the King was seiz'd with a sudden Illness, of which he died in a few Days. As soon as he found the time of his Dissolution drew near, his principal Care was the finishing the *Ceremony*, on account whereof the *Assembly* had been conven'd**. As for the Succession, he wou'd not meddle with it, surrounded as it was with so many Difficulties. In his own Mind he was for the Duke of *Normandy*: The Right was manifestly in Prince *Edgar* his Nephew:

* It was dedicated to St. *Peter*. This Fabrick of *Edward's* was demolish'd by *Henry III.* about 160 Years after, who erected a new one, which was 50 Years in building. The *Abbots* very much enlarrg'd it on the *West-side*, and *Henry VII.* added to the *East* a *Chapel*, which *Leland* calls the *Miracle of the World*. *Edward* was buried in his newly dedicated Church.

** The *Great Men* also sign'd the *Charter* of the *Privileges* and *Immunities* granted to the Church, to which was annexed, as is said, the first *Great Seal* us'd in *England*. Tho' *Tyrrel* thinks other Kings might have *Seals* to their *Charters*, tho' they are now defac'd. *B. VI. p. 99.*

but *Harold* had the Hearts and Hands of the *Englifb.* The Case standing thus, the Difficulties, which he cou'd never bring himself to determine whilst he was in Health, were become insurmountable in the Condition he was in, and therefore he resolv'd to leave the Decision of the Matter to God alone.

In the mean while *Harold* was not idle. Almost all the Lords of the Kingdom, both Spiritual and Temporal, being then assembled at *London*, he found the Means to get them to come to a Resolution of sending Deputies to the dying King, to entreat him to name a Successor. But at the same time, they had Orders to insinuate to the King, that in Case he nominated any but *Harold*, he wou'd infallibly embroil the Kingdom in endleſ Troubles, which wou'd be inconsistent with his Wisdom and the Affection he had all along express'd for his People. *Edward*, not being then in a Condition to examine a Propofal of this Nature, replied, that since they were met in a Body, he left it to them to chuse him whom they judg'd most worthy to rule over them. He died a few Moments after, leaving his Succession as unsettled at his Death as it had been during his Life.

*Edward's
Death in
Decem-
ber, 1065.
His Cha-
racter.*

This Prince, who was born at *Giflip* * near *Oxford*, reign'd 24 Years, without any Molestation from Foreign Enemies. However he can't be said to have reign'd happily, ſince he liv'd in continual Fears, occasion'd by the overgrown Power of Earl *Goodwin* and his Family. His mild and peaceable Temper were a great Means however to procure him ſome Tranquillity. Had he attempted the humbling *Goodwin's* Pride, and the lessening *Harold's* Power, he wou'd moft certainly have involved himſelf in Troubles, from whence he wou'd have found it a hard Matter to extricate himſelf. But by ſhutting his Eyes

at

* Now *Ifſip*. In the *Chapel* here, call'd the *King's Chapel*, not many Years ſince stood a *Font*, the fame, as Tradition has conſtantly deliver'd it down, wherein *Edward the Confeſſor* was baptiz'd. But being put to an indecent uſe, was at laſt remov'd to the Garden of Sir *Henry Brown Bar.* of *Nether Riddington* in *Oxfordshire*. Add. to *Camb.*

at their secret Practices, feigning to know nothing of their Designs, he prevented them from acting more openly, caus'd them to lay their *Schemes* at a greater Distance, and by that means gain'd time to arrive at the End of his Days. He was remarkable neither for his *Virtues* nor his *Vices*; and his Natural Parts were but Mean. His *Piety* has been exceedingly cried up, and has acquir'd him the glorious Title of *Confessor*; and yet we don't find he was any Sufferer on account of his Religion, unless we shou'd look upon, as a sort of *Martyrdom*, the Mortifications he privately laid upon himself out of a Religious Motive. It is certain, he was very Charitable, and laid out in Alms, the Sums other Princes vainly lavish'd away upon their Pleasures. This join'd to his bountiful Temper, of which he gave from time to time uncommon Instances, made him pass for a *Saint* among the People, and particularly among the Monks, who reap'd great Advantages from his liberal Disposition. They have not been satisfied with extolling his Virtues to the Skies, but have even, if I may so say, canoniz'd his very Faults, and endeavour'd to put them off as so many Proofs of his Holiness. Of this we need no other Witness but his own *Historian*, or rather *Panegyrist*, who attributes his voluntary Chastity to a Vow he made before his Marriage. This Writer assures us, that *Edward* espous'd *Editha* the Daughter of *Goodwin* purely to exercise his Virtue by a continual Temptation. But 'tis easy to see, he acted from a very different Motive, since he got rid of his Wife the Moment he thought he cou'd do it with Safety. However, the Opinion of his *Sanctity*, having by degrees taken deep Root in the Minds of the People, he was canoniz'd by Pope *Alexander III.*, by the Name of *Edward the Confessor**.

Ailred.

It was not thought enough to allow this Prince all the Virtues necessary to carry him to Heaven, unless he had a Place given him also among the *Saints* of the first Class.

* About 100 Years after his Death. There was likewise a *Bull* of Pope *Innocent IV.* to fix the *Anniversary*, and order the Solemnity of the *Festival*. *Martyrol. Rom. Baronius Jan. 5.*

We are told he was favour'd with several *Revelations*, with the Gift of *Prophecy*, and many other *miraculous Powers*; for the Proof of which such weak and trifling Instances are produc'd, as are not worth mentioning. However, I can't pass over in Silence one special Privilege, he is said to receive from Heaven, of curing the *King's Evil*. 'Tis even affirm'd, this Privilege has descended upon the King's of *England* his Successors. Hence the Custom in *England* of the King's *Touching for the Evil* at a certain time of the Year*. But the late King *William III.* of Glori-
ons

* It will not be amiss to relate the first Instance of this *Hereditary Miracle*, as Mr. *Collier* calls it. A young married Woman having the Misfortune to be Barren, and troubled at the same time with the Distemper since call'd the *King's Evil*, was, after all human Means had been tried in vain, admonish'd in a Vision to go to the King, by whose Merits she shou'd be cur'd upon his *Washing, Touching, and Signing with the Cross*, the Parts affected. The Woman runs to Court next Morning overjoy'd, and tells the King the whole Matter, who thereupon disdains not to *Wash, Touch* and *Cross* her putrified Sores, which immediately breaking, and Corruption and Worms bursting out, the Parts were in a few Days heal'd without the least Scar remaining; and moreover her Barrenness was remov'd, and she soon became the joyful Mother of Children. This is the first Act, as it is given us by *Ailred* in his *History of the Life and Miracles of Edward the Confessor*, of that *Supernatural Power*, enjoy'd by the Kings of *England* ever since. But tho' Mr. *Collier* says, to dispute this Matter, is to go to the Excesses of *Scepticism*, yet there are some, who doubt of it on the following Accoun'ts.

I. This Power is generally fix'd to the *Lineal Succession*; whereas 'tis plain there was no such thing in those Days, neither was *Edward* himself the next Heir.

II. 'Tis plain from *Ailred*, that this Privilege was given him not as a King, but as a *Saint*; and *Malmsbury* says, they are to be blam'd that attribute it to his *Royalty* and not to his *Saintship*. Consequently there is no Reason his Successors, who were certainly no *Saints*, shou'd be so highly favour'd of Heaven.

III. *Ailred* reckons up many other Miracles which he perform'd; as the restoring to their Sight six or seven blind Men, &c. but does not say a Word of his Power of curing the *Evil* descending to his Successors, any more than his Power of restoring the Blind to their Sight, or of his removing Barrenness, which one wou'd think shou'd be join'd to the other, since they were cur'd both by the same *Touch*.

ons Memory, was so persuaded he should do no Injury to such as were inflicted with this Distemper, by not Touching them, that he refrain'd from doing it all his Reign. The Kings of *France* have claim'd the same Privilege, ever since the Time of *Cloris*, the first Christian King of that Kingdom *.

What has been most cried up in King *Edward*, was his *Good-Nature*, which they have endeavour'd to set off by several Instances : I shall content my self with producing two of them as a Specimen of the Rest. One Day being laid down upon the Bed, one of his Domesticks, who did not know he was in the Room, stole some Money out of a Chest he found open, which the King let him carry off without saying a Word. Quickly after, the Boy returning to make a second Attempt, the King call'd out to him without the least Passion, *Sirrah, you'd best be satisfied with what you've got, for if my Chamberlain comes and catches you, he'll not only take away all you have stol'n, but also whip you severely* *. Another time, as he was hunting, a Countryman maliciously spoiling his Sport, he gallop'd up to him, and said to him in Anger, *By our Lady, I wou'd be reveng'd on thee if 'twas in my Power.* These are the incontestable Proofs of his easy and good Nature, which, according

IV. As there is no evident Reason why the Kings of *England* shou'd have this Privilege above any other Christian Prince, so if Heaven had granted such a Power to our Kings, one wou'd think they shou'd have it in such a Degree as to render it visible to all, and that the Cure shou'd immediately follow the Touch : Whereas Multitudes are not cur'd at all, and those that are pretended to be so, not till a considerable time after they have been touch'd.

* This Miracle is appropriated by *Laurentius*, Physician to *Henry IV.* to the Crown of *France*; but Dr. *Tucker* is even with him, for he makes the King of *France* to do it by Virtue of their Alliance to the Royal Family of *England*. And Mr. *Coffier* will have the Antiquity of this Power to be on the Side of *England*, since he says, *Lewis the Godly* was the first that Touch'd for the Evil 200 Years after our *Edward*. *Eccles. Hist.*

*¹ The Story goes on, that the Chamberlain coming in after the Boy was gone, and missing the Money, fell into a great Rage; but the King calmly said to him, *Be contented, it may be the poor Rogue that has it wants it more than we do; there's enough left for us.* *Ailred. Vit. Ed. p. 376. X. Scrip.*

according to his *Panegyrits*, raise him far above all other Men.

Edward was the last King of *Ecbert's Race*, tho' not the last *Saxon King*, as some have affirm'd, since his Successor was of that Nation. Had not this weak Prince preposterously abstain'd from conversing with his Queen, a very beautiful and virtuous Lady, he might perhaps have had Heirs, and by that means prevented a *Revolution*, which involv'd the *English* in Slavery.

Before the Reign of *Edward* the *West-Saxon, Mercian* and *Danish Laws* were observ'd in *England*, namely, the First in *Wessex*, the Second in *Mercia*, and the Last in *Northumberland*. This Prince reduc'd them all into one Body; and from his time they became common to all *England*, under the Name of the *Laws of Edward*, to distinguish them from the *Norman ones* which were introduc'd afterwards *.

21. HAROLD II.

HAROLD II.
1066.
*elected by
the As-
sembly
General.*

If the Great Men, assembled to appoint a Successor to *Edward*, had been sway'd only by *Justice, Equity* and the *Ancient Customs* of the Kingdom, it wou'd scarce have admitted of a Debate, to know on whom the Crown was devolv'd. *Edgar Atheling* was the only Prince left of the Family of the antient Kings, and consequently, the only one who had a Right to lay claim to the Crown. But *Harold* had so well laid his Schemes, that he was unanimously elected, without any Regard to the Right of the lawful Heir. As for the Duke of *Normandy*, it does not appear his Pretensions, grounded on the late King's Promise, were at all consider'd. It is certain this Prince had never publickly declar'd his Design of aspiring to the Crown

* Concerning this *threefold distinction* of the *Laws*, see what has been said at p. 39, and also in the following Dissertation, under the Head of the *Laws of the Anglo-Saxons*.

Crown of *England*. Accordingly, the *English* Lords might be ignorant of the Matter, or at least pretend to be so. But in Case they had really known his Designs, it wou'd have serv'd only to furnish them with a fresh Motive, to place on the Throne a King more capable than *Edgar Atheling*, of defending the Kingdom against the Attacks of a Foreign Prince.

The Manner of *Harold's* succeeding to the Crown is variously related by Historians : Several affirm that he was elected with one common Voice, and without the least Constraint, by the *Wittena-Gemot*, then assembled, and that he was crown'd the Day after his Election by the Archbishop of *York* *. Others say, he usurp'd the Crown by compelling the *Great Council* to elect him, after he had extorted his Nomination from the late King just as he was dying **. There are some, who look upon this Election as all a Fiction, affirming, that *Harold*, without troubling himself about the Consent of the *Nobles* or *People*, put the Crown on his Head himself without any Formality **. The Reason of this great Diversity among the Historians proceeds from their espousing either the Right of *Harold*, or of the Duke of *Normandy*, as if Prince *Edgar's* Claim was to be reckon'd as Nothing ; whereas in Truth he alone had a Right to succeed to the Crown. But seeing among this Variety of Opinions, a Man is in danger of being sway'd by the Passions and Prejudices of Historians, sooner than by the Justice and Equity of the thing, 'twill not be amiss to clear up this Matter, by laying before the Reader, what might be pleaded in Behalf of the three *Competitors*.

As

* *Saxon Anuals*, and *Hovedson*, with some other of the *English* Writers. The Bishops were all for *Harold* to a Man.

** *William of Malmesbury*, and such as espous'd the Title of the Duke of *Normandy*.

** *Huntington* is of this Opinion, and adds several were for setting up *Edgar Atheling*. *Ingulphus* more cautiously says, *Harold* forgetting his Oath made to Duke *William*, intruded himself into the Throne,

*Edgar's
Title.*

As for *Edgar*, all I shall say for him is, he was the only surviving Prince of the Royal Blood. 'Tis true, his being born out of the Kingdom might be objected against him. But as Prince *Edward* his Father had not been banish'd in a legal Manner, his being forc'd by *Canute* to live in Exile, ought by no Means to invalidate his Son's Right.

*The Duke
of Nor-
mandy's
Rights in-
quir'd into.
Knyghton*

As for the Duke of *Normandy*, one can hardly believe he aspir'd to the Crown of *England* without some Foundation, and yet one can't conceive upon what Grounds he proceeded; so great is the diversity of Opinions upon this Head. Some tell us he was invited over by the *English*, to free them from the Tyranny of *Harold* (a). Others say, that *Edward*, when in *Normandy*, promis'd him, if ever he came to the Crown, he would make him his Heir. In fine, several affirm, that *Edward* appointed him his Successor by his last Will; and some go so far as to assure us, this Will was confirm'd in *Edward's* Lifetime by the *General Assembly* of the Nation: But after all, this pretended Will was never produc'd. Neither does it appear that Duke *William* ever founded his Claim upon any such thing, as if he had known it, or had it in his Hands. In all Probability therefore the Foundation he went upon, was some *verbal* Promise *Edward* had made him when he was in *England*. 'Twas doubtless in pursuance of this Promise, that he requir'd *Harold* not to rise up in Competition against him. Had the *English* done *Edgar* Justice, and plac'd him on the Throne, in all likelihood Duke *William* wou'd never have attempted, upon so frivolous a Pretence, to snatch the Crown from the Head of a Prince to whom of Right it belong'd. But he had to deal with *Harold*, who being only a *private* Man, had procur'd himself the Crown by indirect Practices, and without any manner of Right. Accordingly, setting aside Prince *Edgar*, he put his Right in the Balance against the present King's only. His Interest induc'd him to think, that *Edward's* Promise was equivalent to

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(a) I believe *Knyghton* to be the on'y one that said this.

an Election, since they had thought fit to exclude the lawful Heir. To this may be added, that he had look'd upon the Crown of *England* as what he could not miss of, especially after he had bound *Harold* by an Oath. And therefore, the Indignation at being impos'd upon, the Desire of Revenge, and chiefly his Ambition, the Root of the Quarrel, all concurr'd to inspire him with a Resolution to make an Attempt upon the *English* Crown, and to bear up against all Opposition. Perswaded as he was, that he had no less Right than *Harold*, he thought he might use Force to wrest the Crown from a Prince, who had naturally no Title to it. These, in all appearance, were the Motives that engag'd Duke *William* in so great an Undertaking, the Succes whereof seem'd very doubtful.

Harold's Right ought also to be consider'd under a double View, with regard to the Duke of *Normandy*, and with regard to Prince *Edgar*. If we examine into the *Election* of this King, in opposition to the Duke, we find Nothing but what was *Regular* and according to *Form*, and against which the Duke cou'd have any just Reason to object. It is certain, that altho' *Edward* had nominated Duke *William* his Successor, either by *Will*, or otherwise, the Nomination wou'd have been of no Force, unless confirm'd by the *Assembly of the States* *. This indeed is what some affirm was done, being sensible the Duke's Title without it was little worth. And in truth, where is that Nation, who, without being forc'd to it, wou'd suffer their King, by his own *bare* Nomination, to subject them to a Foreigner, to the Exclusion of the Princes of the Royal Blood, or even of the most worthy Lords of the Kingdom? If this was ever the Case, it was brought about by Surprise, before the *People* had time to oppose it. The *Election* therefore of *Harold* was very lawful, at least with regard to the Duke of *Normandy*, since 'twas made by the *Assembly*

*The Examination
of Ha-
fold's Title,*

* See more of these Matters in the following Dissertation under the Head of *the Succession to the Crown*.

General, whose Power Duke *William* cou'd have no Right to dispute.

But in comparing *Harold's* Title with Prince *Edgar's*, it's a hard Matter to give it so favourable a Turn. It may indeed be defended by the Opinion of those who maintain, that during the *Saxon Government*, the Crown was *Elective*, and that the *Nobles* and *People* had a Power of giving it to whom they thought fit. But besides the Difficulties attending this Notion, 'twou'd not serve to justify *Harold's* Election, supposing 'twas Fact. How extensive soever some wou'd make the *Privileges* of the *Assembly General* in this Respect, yet no one, I believe, will affirm they had a Power of bestowing the Crown on a private Person, to the Prejudice of the Princes of the Royal Family. At least they wou'd find it exceeding difficult to produce any Instances from the History of the *Anglo-Saxons* to their Purpose. The Question then turns upon these two Points, whether the Nation had a Right to elect *Harold*, to the Exclusion of *Edgar*, or whether, on this Occasion, they did not stretch their Power beyond its natural Bounds. As I design to treat of his Matter in another Place *, I shall not undertake to decide the Question at present, but only remark, that supposing the Nation had such a Power, yet it must be own'd it was abus'd at this Juncture, and that *Edgar* had great Injustice done him. But notwithstanding all its Defects, this Election gave *Harold* an incomparable better Title than the *bare Nomination* of King *Edward* cou'd do to Duke *William*, granting the foremention'd *Will* was as *Real*, as it appears to be *Imaginary*. From what has been said, 'tis easy to see, that the Duke of *Normandy's* Claim was built on a very weak Foundation. But to return to our History.

After *Harold* was crown'd, there was not a Person in the Kingdom but what own'd him for Sovereign, and paid him Obedience. But though Matters stood thus at Home, it was otherwise Abroad. Not to mention the Duke of *Normandy*, who, before he discover'd, put him-self

* In the Place mention'd in the Note before this.

self in a condition to execute his Designs, Earl *Toston* was preparing to disturb the King his Brother in the Possession of his new Dignity. He could not forgive him his impartial Proceedings, when in favour of the *Northumbrians*, he dispossess'd him of his Government. Though *Harold's* Accession to the Crown should have render'd him more formidable to him, this Consideration serv'd only to inflame his Hatred the more, and to put him upon searching out all possible Means to dethrone him. As he was not ignorant of the Duke of *Normandy's* Intentions, with whom he had enter'd into a pretty clo'è Friendship, on Account of their having married two Sisters, the Daughters of the Earl of *Flanders*, he went to him in order to concert Measures with him against the King his Brother. There is no doubt but Duke *William* spurr'd him on in his Designs : But it does not appear that he furnish'd him with any Money, Troops, or Ships, of all which he himself stood in so great want against his intended Invasion. In all likelihood therefore 'twas the Earl of *Flanders*, his Father-in-law, that supplied *Toston* with some Ships, by the means of which he infested the *English* Coasts, and plunder'd the *Isle of Wight*. From whence he went and landed some Troops at *Sandwich*. But being inform'd the King was marching towards him, he set Sail for the *North*, and entering the *Humber* with his little Fleet, he made a Descent on *Yorkshire*, and committed Ravages as if he had been in an Enemy's Country. *Harold*, not thinking it adviseable to leave the Southern Parts, commission'd Earl *Morcar* to go against his Brother ; who having been made Governor of *Northumberland* in the Room of *Toston*, was more particularly concern'd to put a stop to his Incursions. As for the King, he resided at *London*, that he might have an Eye over *Edgar's* Party, and prevent them from exciting any Troubles upon the young Prince's Account. This seem'd to him, at that time, to be what he had most Reason to fear ; being very sensible that the Injustice done *Edgar* sat hard upon the Minds of those who were well-affection'd to the ancient Royal Family. Accordingly,

*Harold's
behaviour
to Edgar.*

to prevent their Discontents from breaking out into Action, he mightily caref'd the Prince as well as those of his Party. He even insinuated from time to time, that he had accepted the Crown purely on account of *Edgar's* Youth, willing they shou'd understand, as if he meant to restore it to the Prince when he was of a fit Age to govern. With this View he created him Earl of *Oxford*, and seem'd to take a very particular care of his Education, as if he design'd to qualify him for the Government of the Kingdom.

Morcard drives Tofton to his Ships. In the mean time *Morcard*, accompanied with his Brother *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, march'd with all Expedition against *Tofton*, who was got on the South-side of the *Humber*. He came upon him unawares in *Lincolnsire*, and by that means put his little Army to flight, and compell'd him to betake himself to his Ships. *Tofton* finding he could do nothing considerable with so small a number of Forces, steet'd towards *Scotland*, in hopes of meeting with Assistance there. But perceiving the King of *Scotland* was not dispos'd to aid him, he puts to Sea again, with a design to make another Descent on *England*. Prevented by contrary Winds, he was drove on the Coast of *Norway*, where he accidentally stumbled upon what he had been seeking so industriously.

He is driven to Norway.

Harold Harfager King of *Norway*, had just before made himself Master of some of the *Orcades* *, which belong'd to

* They are now call'd the *Isles of Orkney*. Whatever the Antients have said of their Number, there are but 26 that are inhabited, the rest are us'd only for Pasturage, and are call'd *Holmes*. *Orkney* lies North of *Caithness* in the Latitude of 59 and 60 Degrees. Eagles are in such plenty here, and do so much Mischief, that whoever kills one, is entitled to a Hen from every House in the Parish. The largest of these Isles is, *Mainland*, antiently *Pomonia*, 24 Miles long, whereon stands the only Remarkable Town, call'd *Kirkwall*, famous for St. *Magnus's* Church and the Bishop of *Orkney's* Palace. These Isles were first inhabited by the *Picts*, who kept possession of them till destroy'd in 839 by *Keneth II. of Scotland*, from which time they were subject to the *Scots*, till deliver'd up by *Donald Ban* the *Usurper* in 1299, to *Magnus King of Norway*, but in 1263 they were surrender'd to *Alexander III. King of Scotland*, by Treaty with

to *Scotland*, and was fitting out a more numerous Fleet, in order to push on his Conquests. *Toston* being inform'd of this Prince's Designs, went directly to him, pretending he was come on purpose to propose to him a more noble Undertaking. He represented to him, that a favourable Opportunity offer'd to conquer *England*, if he wou'd but turn his Arms that way. The better to perswade him to this, he told him, there were in the Kingdom two powerful Factions, both Enemies to the King, the one for Prince *Edgar*, the other for the Duke of *Normandy*, and therefore the *English* being thus divided, he wou'd find it no hard Matter to subdue them. Adding, that he himself had a strong Party in *Northumberland*, which wou'd very much help forward the Busines. In fine, he brought him to believe that the King his Brother was extremely odious to the *English*, and wou'd be certainly deserted by them, as soon as they saw in *England* a foreign Army strong enough to support his Enemies. *Harfager*, greedy of Fame, and already devouring, in his Imagination, so noble a Prize, wanted not much Sollicitation to engage in this Design. Prepossess'd by *Toston* of the Feasibleness of the thing, he resolv'd to employ all his Forces in making so glorious a Conquest.

Whilst the King of *Norway* was busied in his Preparati- *The Duke*
ons, the Duke of *Normandy*'s Thoughts were no less taken of Nor-
up about the Means of wresting from *Harold* a Crown, he
had so long fed himself with the Hopes of, and which he
cou'd not bear to see on his Head without extreme Regret. *mandy*
for the In-
Tho' his Rival, in all appearance, was firmly seated on his
Throne, the Duke imagin'd he was able to pull him down,
since the way by Arms was still open, when all other Me-
vasion of
Malm.
Cambd.

with St. *Magnus* King of *Norway*, whq is said to build the stately *Cathedral* at *Kirkwal*. They have since remain'd annex'd to the Crown of *Scotland*. In *Hoy*, one of these Isles, lyes a Stone call'd the *Dwarfe Stone*, 36 Foot long, 18 broad, and 9 thick, hollowed by Art with a square Hole of 2 Foot high for the Entry. Within, at one End, is a Bed big enough for two Men, excellently hewn out of the Stone, with a Pillow; at the other End is a Couch, and in the Middle a Hearth for a Fire, with a Hole over it for the Chimney. *Orkney* gives a Title to an Earl.

thods fail'd. However, to proceed regularly, he sent Ambassadors to him, to require him to deliver him up the Crown, and in case of Refusal, to charge him with the Breach of his Oath, and declare War against him. *Harold* told the Ambassadors, " Their Master had no Manner of Right to the Crown of *England*: That supposing the late King had dispos'd of it in his Favour, a thing the *English* knew nothing of, it was contrary to the Laws of the Land, which allow not the King to give away the Crown according to his *Fancy*, much less to a *Foreigner*. As for his Part, he had been elected by those, who had the Power of placing the Kings on the Throne, and therefore cou'd not give it up without the Breach of that Trust, the *English* had repos'd in him. As for the Oath, the Violation whereof he was charg'd with, it having been extorted from him at a time when he had not the Power to help himself, it was *Null and Void*, by the Laws of all the Nations in the World. In fine, he added, that he knew how to defend his Right against any Person that durst dispute it with him. This Quarrel being of too great Consequence to be decided without coming to Blows, each Party took such Measures as he judg'd most likely to prove successful *.

Duke William continues his preparations.
Harold gains the Affections of the People.

The Duke's Vexation at having been deceiv'd, the Desire of Revenge, the Shame of drawing back, and the pleasing Hopes of being Master of *England*, spurr'd him on to exert his utmost to bring about his Ends. On the other side, *Harold* finding he was like to have so formidable an Adversary to cope with, thought nothing wou'd be of more Service to him, than the gaining the People to his Interests. To this Purpose, he made himself more Popular than ever. He lessen'd the Taxes, and caus'd Justice to be duly and impartially administred. In fine, he omitted nothing that might serve to confirm his Subjects in the Esteem and

* Brompton says, Duke *William* sent a second Message to King *Harold*, offering to desist from his Claims, provided he wou'd marry his Daughter. But this is very improbable; for besides that, our best Historians tell us the young Lady was dead, it is not likely the Duke's Ambition wou'd be so easily satisfied.

and Affection they had already entertain'd for him. His Labour was not in vain. The *English*, charm'd with his first setting out, which afforded them so pleasant a Prospect, resolv'd to sacrifice their Lives and Properties to support him on the Throne to which they had rais'd him. Duke *William*, for his Part, not being ignorant of the Resolution of the *English*, perceiv'd he had no other way to attain his Ends, but by bringing into the Field an Army equal to that of his Enemy.

The main Difficulty was, to raise a Sum of Money sufficient for the Charge of so great an Undertaking. The first Method he took was to convene an Assembly of the *States of Normandy*, in order to obtain their Concurrence. But he found them very backward to come into his Scheme. They told him, that "Normandy having been drain'd of Men and Money by the late Wars, they were so far from being in a Condition to think of making new Conquests, that they were hardly able to defend their own Territories against the Attacks of a powerful Invader. Besides, how just soever the Duke's Claim to *England* might be, they cou'd not see that any Advantage wou'd accrue to their Country from this Expedition. In fine, that they were not oblig'd by their Allegiance to serve in *Foreign* Wars, wherein the State had no Concern. This home Answer cutting off all Hopes of the Duke's raising Money in a publick way, he bethought himself of an Expedient, which succeeded to his Wish. This was to borrow Money of private Persons; and having got some of the chief Men to contribute, the rest were inspir'd with an Emulation who shou'd be most zealous in assisting their Prince. *William Fitz-osbern* undertook to fit out Forty Ships at his own Expence. The most wealthy, every one according to his Ability, subscrib'd very large Sums: So that the Duke by this Method rais'd more Money than he could have done by a publick Tax. But as this would not do, he engag'd several of the neighbouring Princes to furnish him with Troops and Transports, on condition of their having Lands assign'd them in *England* after

Duke William endeavours to raise Money.

The States refuse to contribute Cambd. Brit. Normans.

alter

after the Conquest. He even demanded the Assistance of France ; but it was not the Interest of that Crown that the Duke of Normandy should become more powerful. 'Twas very lucky for him that King Philip, who was then a Minor under the Care of the Earl of Flanders, obstructed not his Proceedings, which a Prince that had been old enough to have known his own Interests, would infallibly have done. 'Tis true indeed, the Court of France endeavour'd to dissuade the Duke from his Enterprize ; but to no Purpose.

The Pope applauds his Design.

In the mean time Duke William, who was very sensible of the Weakness of his Title, omitted nothing that might serve to give it the Colour of Justice. With this View he bethought himself of an Expedient exceeding proper to blind the Eyes of the World ; which was to get the Pope to approve of the Matter ; to whom, 'tis said, he made a Promise of Holding the Kingdom of England of the ~~Ax~~ *papalick See.* However this be, the Pope very heartily espous'd his Cause, and sent him a *consecrated Banner* *, as a Mark of his Approbation. Moreover, willing that all Christians should know that Religion was concern'd in the Case, he solemnly excommunicated all that durst oppose the Duke in the Execution of his Project. This Approbation was of great Service to the Duke, as it furnish'd him with a Pretence to justify his intended Expedition, and at the same time remov'd the Scruples of such as he was endeavouring to engage in his Quarrel. But it had not the same Effect in England. Whether the English knew nothing of the Pope's Excommunication, or whether they look'd upon it as a great Piece of Partiality, it prevented not Harold from equipping a large Fleet, and raising a numerous Army, with which he expected the coming of the Enemy.

Harold dismisses his Army upon a false Information.

The Charge of keeping so considerable an *Armament* on Foot, cou'd not but be very burthensome to the People, a thing the King wou'd have been glad to avoid. After he had in vain waited some Months for the coming of

* With a Golden *Agnes Dei*, and one of St. Peter's Hairs.

of *Duke William*, finding Winter drew on, he imagin'd, Cambden puruant to some false Informations he had receiv'd, that the Duke had put off his Expedition 'till the Spring. Accordingly he thought he might safely lay up his Ships for the Winter, and disband his Troops, in order to save an useless Expence.

But as he was returning to *London* out of *Kent*, where *The King* he had given Orders for disbanding the Army, News was brought him that the King of *Norway*, accompanied with Earl *Toston*, was enter'd the *Tyne*, with a Fleet of 500 Sail. Surpris'd at this unexpected Invasion, he hastily drew his Army together again, which were dispersing themselves. But before he cou'd do it, the *Norwegians* had made a great Progress. After they had sack'd the *Counties* on both Sides the *Tyne*, they put to Sea, and entering the *Humber*, landed their Forces on the North-side, and ravag'd the Country with inexpressible Cruelties. *Morcar* and *Edwin*, who were upon the Spot, endeavour'd to put a stop to their Career, with some Troops levied in *Haste*; but they were so roughly handled, that their whole Army was destroy'd. Blown up with this Success, the *Norwegians* advanc'd towards *York*, and laid Siege to the City, which they quickly became Masters of; the Inhabitants, who were unprovided with all things necessary for their Defence, choosing rather to surrender upon Terms, than expose themselves to certain Ruin. In the mean while, *Harold* having drawn his Army together, advanc'd with all Expedition, in order to give the *Norwegians* Battle, who having left their Fleet in the *Humber*, were marching towards the North, to compleat the Conquest of *Norumberland*, before they proceeded any farther *Southwards*. As they march'd on but slowly, and as *Harold* made all the Expedition possible, he came up with them at *Stanford-Bridge**, on the River *Derwent*, a little below *York*. The *Norwegians*, upon his Approach, intrench'd

*Defeats
Morcar
and Edwin.*

*The Battle
of Stan-
ford-*

* Which *Cambden* says, is also call'd *Battle-Bridge*, from this Engagement between *Harold* and the *Norwegians*. In Latin, *Pons bellii*.

themselves in such a Manner, that it seem'd impossible to drive them from their Station. They were posted on the other Side of the River, where there was no attacking them but by the Bridge, of which they were Masters. Notwithstanding this, *Harold*, who was very sensible how much it behov'd him to come to an Engagement, order'd the Bridge to be attack'd without delay. The *Norwegians* defended it stoutly ; but they cou'd not withstand the Efforts of the *English*, though animated by the astonishing Valour of one of their own Men, who defended the Bridge alone against the *English* Army for a considerable while. At length, the brave *Norwegian* being slain *, *Harold* became Master of the Bridge, and pass'd his Army over : Then furiously falling on the Enemy, after an obstinate Fight, entirely routed them. There had never been seen in *England* an Engagement between two so numerous Armies, each Side having no less than threescore thousand Men. The Battle, a very bloody one, lasted from seven in the Morning till three in the Afternoon.

Harfager and Tofton were both slain, and *Harold* obtain'd a compleat Victory. Of the whole Army that came from *Norway* in 500 Ships, the Remains were carry'd off by *Olaus* the Son of *Harfager*, in twenty Vessels, with the Conqueror's Leave. The Booty, which was taken upon this Occasion, was very great, since they found in the Camp all that the *Norwegians* had brought from Home, and all that they had plunder'd in the Kingdom **. But *Harold* having been so impolitick as to retain the Spoil to himself, rais'd such Disorders in his Army, as prov'd of very ill Consequence to his Affairs afterwards ***. One wou'd think this Prince, who was naturally of a generous Temper, shou'd have secur'd the Hearts of his Soldiers

ers

* He is said to have kill'd forty Men with his own Hand.

** Adam Bremen sis says, they took so much Gold among the Spoil, that twelve young Men cou'd hardly bear it on their Shoulders. This Battle was fought nine Days before William the Conqueror landed.

** Twas the Custom in those Days for all the Spoils to be fairly divided among the Officers and Soldiers.

ers by a Liberality which wou'd have cost him nothing, especially at a time he stood in so great need of their Service. But he consider'd, that by expending this Booty in the War against the Duke of *Normandy*, it wou'd go a great way towards easing the People, whose Affections he was desirous to retain at any Rate. Nevertheless, he shou'd not have forgot that the gaining the Hearts of his Soldiers was no less necessary. Doubtless 'twou'd have been better he had done so, since he wou'd have been sure to have found them grateful at another time. It has been often observ'd that your Soldiers are never so little regarded, as when by their Bravery they have procur'd to their Masters some signal Advantages, because their own Victories tend to render them useless. But 'tis no less certain, that sooner or later a discontented Army give their Prince or their General cause to repent of using them ill.

Whilst *Harold* was busied in the North, in rectifying the Disorders occasion'd by the *Norwegian* Invasion, the Duke of *Normandy*, who had been long waiting for a Wind at St. *Valery*, set sail towards the End of *September*, and had a speedy Passage to *Pevensey** in *Sussex*. 'Tis affirm'd, that in leaping ashore, he fell all along on his Face; at which one of the Soldiers said merrily, *See our Duke is taking Possession of England*; which Saying the Duke took as a good Omen. Finding none to dispute his Landing, his first Care was to run up a Fort near the Place where he disembark'd, to favour his Retreat in Case of Necessity. Some however will have it, that he sent his Ships back to *Normandy*, to let his Army see they had nothing to trust to but their Valour **. After some Days stay at *Pevensey*, he march'd along the Shore as far as *Hafting**, where he built a stronger Fort than the former, resolving to wait there for the Enemy, of whom he had heard no News. 'Twas here he publish'd a *Manifeſto*, showing the Reasons of his coming into *England*; namely, in the first Place to

*The Duke
of Nor-
mandy
invader
England.*

* Now
Pemſey.

*He pub-
lishes a
Manifeſto.*

** Cambden says, he order'd his Ships to be burnt.

** The Chief of the *Cinque-Ports*, whose Burgesſes retain the old Title of *Barons*.

Cambden. revenge the Death of Prince *Alfred*, Brother to King *Edward*. This was a frivolous Pretence, if he did make use of it, since Earl *Goodwin*, who was the Contriver of that Murder, was dead, and *Harold* had never been charg'd with it. *Secondly*, To restore *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* to his See. But this was no better a Reason than the first, since this Prelate had been banish'd by the *General Assembly* in *Edward's* Reign, and consequently the present King cou'd not be blam'd for it. 'Tis very likely this Article was inserted in the *Manifesto* on the Pope's Account, to serve as a Cover for his Partiality in favour of the Duke. *Thirdly*, and principally, to offer the *English* his Assistance to bring *Harold* to condign Punishment for presuming to seize the Crown, without any Manner of Right, and directly contrary to his Oath. It may be observ'd, that he said not a Word of *Edward's Will*, or of any *verbal Promise* made him by that Prince, and that his Silence on these Points render this third Motive of his very slight and trifling. For indeed, without such a *Will*, or *Promise*, what Pretence cou'd the Duke of *Normandy* have to trouble himself about the Affairs of *England*? Some affirm he founded his Right on his Relation to *Edward*; but he was no ways Kin to the late King but by *Emma* of *Normandy*, who had never any Title to the Crown; besides, he himself was a Bastard. But he did not so much build his Hopes on his *Manifesto*, as on the Strength of his Army. He was very sensible, if he obtain'd the Victory, 'twould be no hard Matter to make his Reasons go down. In the mean time, not to terrify the *English*, he order'd his Army to injure none, but such as were actually in Arms against him. But neither this Charge, nor his *Manifesto* drew any Body over to his Side. They cou'd not conceive what Grounds he had to enter the Kingdom in this Hostile Manner, or what Advantage any one cou'd have by taking his Part.

Harold comes to London. The News of the *Norman Invasion* was quickly brought to *Harold*, who was still in the North, little expecting their coming 'till the Spring. As soon as he was inform'd of the Matter, he set forward, in order to give the New-comers

comers Battle, whom he did not think more formidable than the *Norwegians*. By hasty Marches he came to *London*, where upon a Review, he found his Army very much diminish'd, not only by his Losses at the Battle of *Stanford*, but by Multitudes deserting out of Discontent. However all the *Nobility* of the Kingdom came in to him, and offer'd their Assistance at a Juncture, wherein 'twas no less their Interest than his to repell the Foreigners. Whilst he staid at *London*, expecting the coming of some of his Troops that were behind, Duke *William* sent Ambassadors to require him to deliver up the Crown, and to charge him with the Breach of his Oath. He was so mov'd at the Haughtines wherewith the Ambassadors address'd to him, that he cou'd hardly refrain from using them ill. However he govern'd his Passion; but was even with his Enemy, by sending him a menacing and insulting Message. The Duke heard with Patience all that *Harold* had order'd to be said to him, and dismiss'd the Ambassadors without returning any Answer.

The Nobility come in to him.

Ambassadors from the Duke.

In the mean time *Harold* having drawn all his Forces together, went and encamp'd about seven Miles from the *Norman* Army, with a Resolution to give them Battle. Whilst the two Armies lay thus near one another, Spies were continually sent out by both Sides, each Leader being desirous to know the Strenght and Posture of his Enemy. But the *English* Spies magnified in such a manner the Numbers, and Discipline of the *Normans*, that the principal Officers began to doubt of the Success of the War *. *Garth*, Brother to *Harold*, took an Occasion from these Reports, to perswade the King to put off the Battle. He represented to him, " That by prolonging the Time, he wou'd find his Army to increase continually, whereas the Enemy's Forces wou'd daily be diminish'd. That nothing cou'd annoy the *Normans* more than wintering in an Enemy's Country, where they had

Harold encamps near the Normans.

Gurth's Speech to his Brother.

" not

* Some of the Spies took the *Normans* to be an Army of Priests, because they were shaven, it being the Custom then among the *English* to wear long Beards.

" not so much as one strong Hold to retreat to, and from
 " whence in all probability the want of Necessaries wou'd
 " compel them to retire. That as he was accus'd of
 " the Breach of an Oath, he had reason to fear, in case
 " he was guilty of the Charge, that Heaven wou'd not
 " prosper his Arms : But however, if he was absolutely
 " bent to come to an Engagement without any farther
 " Delay, 'twou'd be most prudent for him, not to be
 " present in Person at the Battle, that he might discour-
 " age the Enemy with the dread of having a fresh
 " Army to deal with, in Case they shou'd be so fortu-
 " nate as to get the better of this. In fine, if he wou'd
 " trust him with the Command of his Forces, he wou'd
 " promise him, not indeed the Victory, which was in the
 " Hand of God alone, but however to dye in the De-
 " fence of his Country ". The King was deaf to all
 his Brother had urg'd, and made Answer, " That by his
 " former Actions he had gain'd the Esteem of the En-
 " glish, and therefore cou'd not think of losing it again
 " by an inglorious Flight. That he had rather run the
 " Hazard of a Battle, the Success whereof was as yet un-
 " certain, than forfeit his Reputation, as he shou'd
 " most certainly do, if after so near an Approach to the
 " Enemy, he shou'd be known to withdraw. That af-
 " ter all, the *Normans* were not more formidable than the
 " *Norwegians*; and that since he was to fight, he cou'd
 " not do it at a better time, than whilst his Army was
 " flush'd with their late Succes. In a Word, that
 " he was resolv'd to let his Subjects see, he was not un-
 " worthy of the Crown he wore." Duke *William* per-
 ceiving by all *Harold's* Motions, that he was bent upon
 giving him Battle, advanc'd a little forward, for the sake
 of a commodious Piece of Ground, where he cou'd draw
 up his Army to the best Advantage.

The Duke sends Proposals to Harold.

Whilst they were preparing for a Battle, which was to
 decide the Fate of both Princes, Duke *William* seem'd to
 abate somewhat of his Haughtiness. 'Tis to be presun'd,
 that the Thoughts of a Battle in an Enemy's Country,
 where his Loss would be irretrievable, inspir'd him with
 some

some Dread of the Issue. On the other Hand, he cou'd not well forbear reflecting beforehand, on the Blood that was going to be spilt in a Quarrel, the Justice whereof he cou'd not be thoroughly convinc'd of, how much soever he appear'd to be so. Be this as it will, before they engag'd, he sent the King by the Hands of a certain Monk these four Proposals for him to take his choice. The first was, to deliver up the Crown, as he had bound himself by Oath to do. By the Second, he offer'd to return into *Normandy*, provided *Harold* wou'd do him Homage, and hold the Kingdom under him. By the Third, he was ready to submit the Determination of the Matter to the Judgment of the *Apostolick See*. Lastly, he propos'd the deciding of their Quarrel by single Combat. 'Tis no wonder *Harold* rejected these four Proposals, seeing they were all so advantagious to the Duke. As for the two First, 'tis visible how detrimental they were to *Harold*. The Third seem'd at first Sight somewhat fairer: but the Pope having already declar'd in favour of the Duke, what Justice cou'd *Harold* expect from him? As for the Fourth, the Balance plainly inclin'd to the Duke's Side, since, in a single Combat, he hazarded only his Person, whereas *Harold* ran the Risk of losing his Crown with his Life. The Victory wou'd have put the Duke of *Normandy* in possession of a Noble Kingdom, whereas 'twou'd have only gain'd the King the bare Glory of coming off Conqueror. Besides, *Harold* was of opinion, that the Decision of an Affair, wherein the whole Nation was concern'd, ought not to depend on the Strength and Skill of a single Arm. His Answer therefore was, that God shou'd determine on the Morrow, on whose Side Justice lay.

The *English* spent the whole Night in carowing and singing, as if they been sure of the Day. The *Normans* on the contrary were employ'd in preparing for the Battle, and offering up Prayers to God for Success. At length, on the 14th of October, *Harold's* Birth-day, but much more memorable for one of the greatest Events that ever happen'd in *England*, the two Armies engag'd. In the The Bar-
sis of Half-
ings.

the Front of the *English* stood the *Kentish Men*, a Privilege, they had enjoy'd ever since the time of the *Heparchy*. *Harold* plac'd himself in the Center, and resolv'd to fight on Foot, that his Men might be the more encourag'd by seeing their King expos'd to equal Danger with the meanest Soldier. The *Normans* were drawn up in three Bodies. *Montgomery* and *Fitz-osbern* led up the First. *Geoffrey Martel* commanded the Second, and the Duke himself headed the Body of Reserve, to succour those who shou'd most want it. The *Normans* began the Fight with a Volley of Arrows, which being shot upward were like a thick Cloud over the Heads of the foremost Ranks of the *English*. As their Ranks were very close, the Arrows did great Execution. The *English* not being us'd to this way of fighting, were at first put it into some Disorder. The *Normans* willing to take the advantage of it vigorously attack'd them. But the *English* immediately falling into good order again, gave them so warm a Reception, that they were oblig'd to draw back and take breath. Quickly after, they renew'd their Attack, but met with as brave a Resistance as before, neither was it in their Power to break their Ranks. The *English* chusing rather to die than give way, and the *Normans* ashame'd to retreat, both Sides fought stoutly for a considerable time, without either gaining the least Ground. The Presence of their Leaders animating the Soldiers, they every where fought with equal Bravery, so that there was no distinguishing which Side had the Better. We may judge of the Valour of the Troops in both Armies by the Length of the Fight, which began at Seven a Clock in the Morning, and lasted till Night.

The Duke's Stratagem. I shall not take upon me fully to describe this bloody Battle, I find so much confusion in the Accounts of Historians, that I durst not pretend to give a clear and distinct Notion of the Matter. I shall content my self therefore with relating two Circumstances, which, all Historians unanimously agree, gave the *Normans* the Victory. The Fight had lasted all Day without any one's being able to guess how it wou'd end; when *Duke William* bethought himself

The Victory a long time doubtful.

himself of a Stratagem, which made the Victory incline to his Side. This Prince, who had a great deal of Experience, perceiving there was no breaking the Ranks of the *English*, order'd his Troops to retreat as they fought, as if disheartned, but at the same time to take special Care not to break their Ranks. This Order being put in Execution, the *English* look'd upon the Enemy's Retreat, as the Beginning of their Victory. Full of this Notion, they encourag'd one another, by reiterated shouts, to press the retiring Enemy. Their Eagerness made them break their Ranks, that they might drive them back with the greater Impetuosity, imagining they were upon the Point of taking to their Heels. Then it was, that the *Normans*, finding their Stratagem had taken Effect, stood their Ground, and by a Discipline they had long been us'd to, clos'd their Ranks again; after which falling on the disorder'd *English*, they made a terrible Slaughter of them.

Harold, at his Wit's End to see the Victory, which a Mo-
ment before he thought himself sure of, snatch'd out
of his Hands, exerted his utmost to rally his Troops that
were in extreme Disorder. His Labour was not altogether
in vain, since he drew up on a rising Ground, at a little
Distance from the Field of Battle, a good Body of Foot,
which became at length very considerable by being conti-
nually join'd by the flying Troops. The Duke of *Nor-
mandy*'s Victory being far from compleat, whilst so strong
a Body of the *English* kept together, he order'd them to
be attack'd with a fresh Fury. But the *English* receiv'd
them with that Bravery, and the *Normans* lost such Num-
bers of their Men, that the Fortune of the Day seem'd
still doubtful. The Approach of the Night, and the Re-
solution of the *English* making the Duke despair of pene-
trating their Ranks, he began to look upon himself as
conquer'd, since he was not entirely victorious. In all
appearance, the *English* Army might have retreated in good
Order enough, by Favour of the Night, if *Harold* cou'd
have bore the Thoughts of leaving the Enemy in pos-
session of the Field of Battle, at a time, when the Loss
on both Sides was pretty near equal. But out of an Ap-

rallies his
Troops ag-
ain,

and re-
pulses the
Normans.

*He cou'd
not think
of retreat-
ing.*

prehension that his Retiring might be prejudicial to his Affairs, and derogatory to his Reputation, he resolv'd to stand his Ground, and not give the Enemy that Advantage over him. Besides, he was in hopes of rallying his whole Army during the Night, and of renewing the Fight, the next Day.

In the mean time the Duke perceiving the Night was going to rob him of the Glory of a compleat Victory, made one Effort more to drive the *English* from their Station.

Harold slain, and the English entirely routed.

In this last Onset, *Harold* was slain by an Arrow shot into his Brains. His Troops, disheartned at this fatal Accident, began to give Ground, and betake themselves to Flight. Thus *Harold's* Death was a Second Reason of the *Normans* being victorious, and of the *English* being entirely routed. They were pursu'd as long as Day lasted ; and in this Pursuit it was, that a terrible Slaughter was made of them, the Victors putting all to the Sword they cou'd overtake, to save the trouble of guarding the Prisoners. The Darknes of the Night however sav'd a good Part of the *English* Army, who retreated under the Conduct of *Morcar* and *Edwin*. These two Lords, who had all along firmly adher'd to *Harald*, seeing he was slain, as well as *Gurth* and *Lewin* his Brothers, submitted at length to Providence, after having given, the whole Day, visible Marks of their Valour. This long and bloody Battle cost the Duke of *Normandy* the lives of 6000 of his Men ; but the *English* lost a much greater Number*.

Duke *William*, at the Height of his Wishes, gave orders for the whole Army to fall on their Knees and return Thanks to God for so signal a Victory. After he had done this, he caus'd his Tent to be pitch'd in the Field of Battle, and spent the residue of the Night among the slain. On the Morrow, he order'd his own Dead to be buried, and gave the *English* Peasants leave to do the same Office for

* This Battle was fought near *Heathfield* in *Sussex*, in the Place where the Town of *Battle* now stands, so call'd from this Day's Action, wherein our Modern Historians say, were slain above three-score thousand *English* Men.

for the others. The Bodies of the King and his Brothers being found, he sent them to *Gith* their Mother, who gave them as honourable a Burial as the present Circumstances wou'd permit, in *Waltham-Abby*, founded by the King her Son *.

Thus fell *Harold*, with his Sword in his Hand, in Defence not only of his own, but of his Country's Cause, against the Ambition of the Duke of *Normandy*. The Historians, who wrote in the Reigns of the *Conqueror* and his Sons, have greatly endeavour'd to blacken the Memory of *Harold*, in order to justify in some Measure the ambitious Pretences of the Duke. But all they have said against this last of the *Saxon* Kings, tends only to the Breach of his Oath, on which Point we have seen what he alledged in his own Vindication. They might, upon much better Grounds, have blam'd him for his secret Practices, in getting Prince *Edgar* to be excluded from the Throne, who alone had a Right to it. But the Duke's Friends having taken care to be silent on that Head, once whatever they had hid to *Harold's* Charge on that Score, wou'd have reflected as strongly upon the Duke. Be this as it will, it may be said *Harold* wou'd have been more worthy of the Crown, had he been less forward to obtain it. He gain'd the Love and Esteem of the *English* whilst he was but a private Man, and he acted nothing during his short Reign *, which tended to lessen their Affections. He fought within the Space of a few Days, two great Battles; with very dif-

* An ancient Manuscript in the *Cottonian Library* relates, that the King's Body was hard to be known by reason of its being cover'd with Wounds, but was at last discover'd by one who had been his Mistress, by the means of certain private Marks known only to herself. The Duke sent the Body to his Mother without any Ransom, tho' she is said to have offer'd him its weight in Gold. But tho' all others agree that *Harold* fell in this Battle, yet *Knygerton* from *Giraldus Cambrensis* asserts he was not slain, but escaping retir'd to a Cell near St. John's Church in *Chester*, and died there an Anchoret, as was own'd by himself in his last Confession when he lay a dying. In memory whereof they shew'd his Tomb when *Knygerton* wrote.

** Of nine Months and nine Days.

ferent Success. In the first, his Conduct and Valour procur'd him a signal Victory over the King of *Norway*, and his unhappy Success in the last was entirely owing to his Ill-Fortune. As for his other personal Qualities, he was naturally Honest, Obliging, Affable, exceeding Generous, and in a word, was endow'd with all the Virtues which go to the forming a Great Prince.

His Issue.

Harold had been twice married. By his first Wife, whose Name is not known, he had three Sons, *Edmund*, *Goodwin* and *Magnus*, who retir'd into *Ireland* after the Death of their Father. By his Second Wife, *Algitha*, Sister to *Morcar* and *Edwin*, he had a Son call'd *Wolf*, who was but a Child at the time of the Battle of *Hastings*, and was afterwards knighted by *William Rufus*; And also two Daughters: *Gunilda* the eldest falling blind, pass'd her Days in a Nunnery. The youngest was married to *Waldemar* King of *Russia*, by whom she had a Daughter, who was Wife to *Waldemar* King of *Denmark* *.

Thus ended in *England* the Empire of the *Anglo-Saxons*, which began above Six hundred Years before in the Person of *Hengift* the First King of *Kent*. We shall see in the following Book how *England* fell under the Dominion of the *Normans*.

* *Tyrrel* says, (from *Speed*) she was Mother to *Waldemar* the first King of *Denmark* of that Name. From whom the *Danish* Kings for many Ages after succeeded.



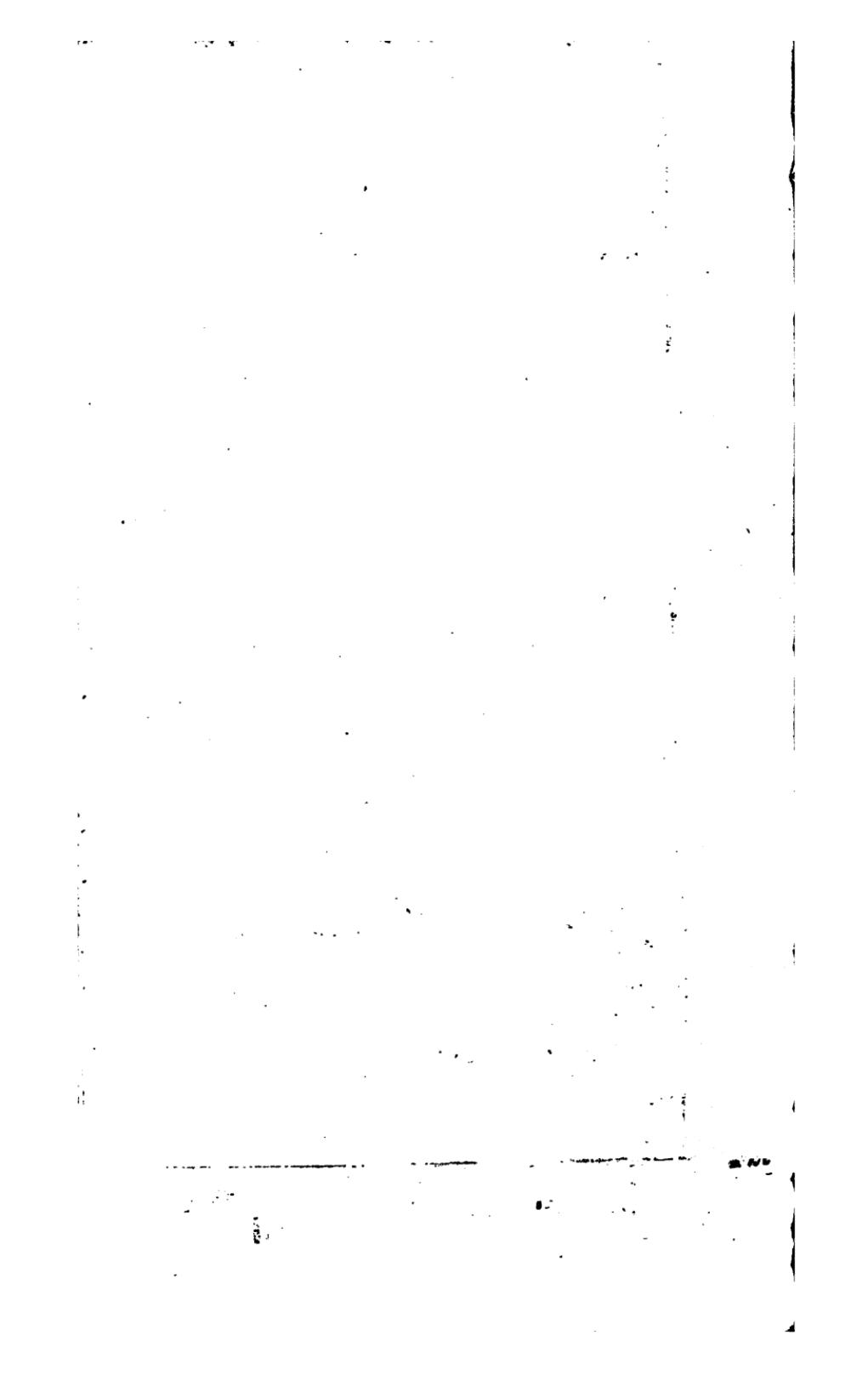
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ENGLAND ARCHY.

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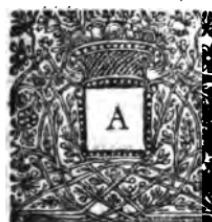
or

*or
ledge of the Affairs of the Church in those Days*





The STATE of the CHURCH,
from the Reign of ETHEL-
RED II. to the Norman Con-
quest ; that is, from 979, to
1066.



FTER having seen what pass'd in ^{State of} England from the Beginning of the ^{the Church} Reign of Ethelred II. to the End of the Monarchy of the Saxons, one can't expect that this Period shou'd afford much Matter for an Ecclesiastical History: This Age may be term'd the Age of Ignorance, with respect to all Europe in general, but more especially with regard to England in particular: If there was Occasion, it wou'd be no hard Matter to assign the Causes of this universal Ignorance, not only in this Kingdom, but in all the other Christian States. But 'twill be sufficient to my Purpose to alledge one, which was peculiar to England; I mean the Wars the Kingdom was incessantly infested with. The Arms of the Pagans, which carried all before them, scarce left the English the Liberty of professing their Religion, and consequently, our Knowledge of the Affairs of the Church in those Days must be

be very imperfect. Accordingly I shall confine what I have to say on this Subject, to a few Heads, concerning the *Doctrines, Councils,* some Particulars relating to certain *Sees,* and the *Persons* that were the most distinguish'd among the *Clergy.*

*The Sense
of the
Church of
England
relating to
the Eucha-*

What Attempts soever have been made at sundry Times to prove the Antiquity of *Transubstantiation*, it cou'd never be made out that it was the Doctrine of the *Church of England*, before the time I am speaking of. On the contrary, it evidently appears from the *Homilies* or *Sermons*, which were read in Churches for the Instruction of the People, that the *Church* in those Days was far enough from believing it. There is still extant a Translation of these *Homilies**[†], attributed to *Elfric*, who liv'd under *Ethelred II.* from whence any one may be convinc'd, that the then *Church of England* was of a quite contrary Opinion. But that the *Reader* may judge for himself, it will not be amiss to lay before him an Extract of one of these *Homilies* relating to this Subject.

*Extract of
a Saxon
Homily
on this
Subject.*

" There is a great Difference between the invisible Vir-
" tue of this *Sacrament*, and what it appears to us in the
" Qualities of its own Nature. In its own Nature 'tis
" corruptible Bread and Wine, but by Virtue of the di-
" vine Institution, 'tis truly the Body and Blood of our
" Lord Jesus Christ after Consecration, not in a *Corpo-*
" *real* but *Spiritual Manner*. The Body in which Jesus
" Christ suffer'd, and the *Eucharistical Body* are widely
" different. The first was born of the *blessed Virgin*, and
" consisted of Blood, Bones, Nerves, Limbs, animated
" with a rational Soul. But the Body which we call *Eu-*
" *charistical*, is made up of several Grains of Wheat.
" It has neither Blood, Bone, Nerve, Limb, nor Soul
" in it. We are therefore not to form any *Corporeal Idea*
" of it, but to understand it wholly in a *spiritual Sense*.
" In the *Eucharist*, whatever repairs our Nature, and
" forms

* These *Homilies* are in Latin stil'd *Sermones Catholicci*; the Translation of them into *Old English* is preserv'd in the *Bodleian Library*, and in that of *Bennet College* in *Cambridge*.

“ forms us to a better Life, proceeds entirely from a *My-*
 “ *stick* Virtue, and a *Spiritual* Operation. For this Rea-
 “ son the *Eucharist* is call’d a *Sacrament*, because one thing
 “ appears to our *Senses*, and another to our *Understand-*
 “ *ing*. What in the *Sacrament* is the Object of Sight,
 “ has a *Corporeal* Figure. But what is represented to our
 “ Understanding has a *Spiritual* Force and Efficacy. More-
 “ over the Body of Christ, which suffer’d and rose
 “ from the *Dead*, is Eternal and Impassible, and no more
 “ subject to Decay or Death; whereas the *Eucharist* is
 “ not Eternal but Corruptible, subject to the Force of
 “ Time, and divisible into many Parts. ’Tis ground
 “ with the Teeth, and passes through the *common Chan-*
 “ *nels* of the Body; but notwithstanding the *Spiritual Ef-*
 “ *ficacy* of it remains in every Part. A great many Per-
 “ sons receive this *Holy Body* or *Eucharist*, and yet the
 “ Multitude of Receivers weakens not the Force of the
 “ Operation, the Virtue of the *Sacrament* being lodg’d in
 “ every Part of what is consecrated, the least Part having
 “ as much Efficacy as the greatest. The Reason is, be-
 “ cause the Virtue does not operate in Proportion to the
 “ *Corporeal Magnitude*, but by the Means of the *Divine*
 “ *Institution*.

“ The *Sacrament* is a *Type* and a *Pledge*, but the *Body*
 “ of our Lod Jesus Christ is the *Truth* and *Reality* of
 “ the Representation. God has vouchsafed to give us this
 “ *Pledge* or *Earneſt*, till we come to the Truth it self, and
 “ then the *Pledge* will disappear. For, as hath been ob-
 “ serv’d, the *Holy Eucharist* is the *Body of Jesus Christ* not
 “ *corporeally* but *spiritually**. The Apostle St. Paul speak-
 “ ing of the *Israelites*, has these Words *. I won’d *^{1 Cor. x.}
 “ not that you shou’d be ignorant, how that all our Fathers
 “ were under the Cloud, and pass’d through the Sea; and
 “ were all baptiz’d unto Moles in the Cloud and in the
 “ Sea; and did all eat the same spiritual Meat; and did
 “ all drink the same spiritual Drink: For they drank of
 “ the spiritual Rock that follow’d them, and that Rock
 “ was

* Non *Corporaliter* sed *Spiritualiter*.

" was Christ. That Rock, from whence the Water
 " flow'd, was not Christ in Reality, but a *Type* and *Re-*
 " *presentation* of Jesus Christ, who made this gracious De-
 " clarations to all the *Faithful*; If any Man thirst, let him
 " come to me and drink; and out of his Belly shall flow
 * John vii. 38. " Rivers of living Water*. By this he understood the
 " *Holy Ghost*, which those that believ'd on him shou'd re-
 " ceive. The Apostle declares, that the *Children of Isra-*
 " *el*, who were in the *Wilderness*, eat the same spiritual
 " *Meat*, and drank the same spiritual *Drink*, because the
 " *Manna*, with which they were supported forty Years
 " together, and the Water which flow'd from the Rock,
 " were *Types* of the *Body* and *Blood* of Jesus Christ, which
 " are daily offer'd in the *Church*. That *Manna* and that
 " *Water* were the same, which we now offer, not *Cor-*
 " *poreally* but *Spiritually*. To understand this, observe
 " that our Lord Jesus Christ, before his *Passion*, confe-
 " crated the *Bread* and *Wine* into the *Sacrament* of the
 " *Eucharist*, and said, *This is my Body*; *This is my Blood*.
 " Although his *Passion* was not over when he pronounc'd
 " these Words; yet by a *Mystick Operation*, he chang'd
 " the *Bread* into his *Body*, and the *Wine* into his *Blood*,
 " just as he had done in the *Wilderness* before his *Incarna-*
 " *tion*, when he turn'd the *Manna* into his *Flesh*, and the
 " *Water* that flow'd from the Rock, into his own
 " *Blood*.

As this Explanation is a clear Evidence, that at the time this *Homily* was penn'd, the *Church of England* believ'd not *Transubstantiation*, so it is no less manifest, that *Elfric*, who translated it into *Latin*, was of the same Opinion with the Author. 'Tis true, there is some Dispute about the Person of the Translator. Some will have him to be *Elfric* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. Others say it was *Elfric* the Grammian, surnam'd *Peta*, who was Archbishop of *York*. But which of the two soever it was, they both liv'd in the Reign of *Ethelred II.* and neither of them was ever accus'd of *Heterodoxy*. But since it may be objected, that *Elfric* was not of the same Opinion with the Author, whom he translated, though

that is not very likely, the contrary is evident from the following Words of the same *Elfric*, in one of his Letters to the *Clergy*. *The Sacrifice of the Eucharist is not the Body in which our Saviour suffer'd for us, nor the Blood he shed for our Sakes; but 'tis the same Body and the same Blood spiritually, just as the Manna was which fell from Heaven, and the Water which flow'd from the Rock.* 'Tis therefore most certain, from the Testimony of a Prelate, who was at the Head of the *Church of England*, that the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation* was not introduc'd into that Church in the time of *Ethelred II.* who ascended the Throne in 979. There is no way to evade the Force of this Proof, but by asserting the *Homily* beforemention'd to be all a Forgery. But this is much easier said than prov'd.

It is not the same with regard to the Invocation of the *blessed Virgin*, and of the *Saints* in Glory, since on the contrary we find it was practis'd in *England* in this very Century. This is manifest from *Canute the Great's Charter* to the *Abby of Glastonbury*, wherein there is mention made of the *blessed Virgin*, and all the other *Saints*. But as the Authority of the *Charters* of those Days is not equally admitted on all Hands, the same thing may be prov'd from a publick *Litany* then read in the Church. Here we see that after the Invocation of the *Holy Trinity*, these Words were thrice repeated, *O Holy Mary, pray for us,* After which the *Angels* and *Saints* were address'd to [by Name.] It must be remark'd, that when this Practice was first introduc'd, the Application to the *blessed Virgin* and *Saints* was not so direct, *May the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God, and all the Saints intercede for us.* These are the Words in the publick *Office* of *Canonical Hours* us'd by the *Anglo-Saxons**. This *Office*, which is in *Latin*, af-

*Invocation
of the Vir-
gin Mary.
and of the
Saints.*

*Spelman
Concil.
Vol. I.*

* *Sancte Duci Genetrix Virgo Maria et omnes Sancti Dei intercedant pro nobis peccatoribus ad Dominum, ut mercamur ab eo adjuvari et Salvari, qui vivis et regnas Deus.* Now this amounts to no more than a wish for their Intercession, and is far from a direct Invocation. This *Office* is translated by Mr. *Elstob*. Immediate Address, as far as we can discover, did not prevail in *England*, till the tenth

Century:

fords.

fords this Remark, that altho' the *Lessons*, *Prayers*, *Psalms*, *Lord's Prayer* and *Creed* are in the same Tongue, yet at the End of each *Article* or *Verse*, there follows a *Saxon Translation* in a *Paraphrastical way*, that the People might understand what was said.

Elfric's
Canons.

Extreme
unction.

Among the *Canons*, which go under the Name of *Elfric*, of whom I have already spoken, and who liv'd in the Reign of *Ethelred II*, the XXXIII obliges Priests to have by them two Sorts of *Consecrated Oil*, one for Children, and another for the Sick, and enjoins that the Sick shou'd be always anointed upon their Beds, and that they shou'd confess themselves before the Ceremony of anointing pas'd upon them, which no Priest was to presume to perform till desir'd by the sick Person. Whence it may be inferr'd, that they did not stay till the Sick were in their last Agonies, before they administred the *Extreme Unction*.

In the XXXIII, the four first *General Councils** are put upon the same Foot with the four *Gospels*; but those of latter Ages are not of so great Authority. Hence 'tis evident that the Author of these *Canons* did not think all the *General Councils*, were infallible. Had he been of this Opinion, he wou'd not have given a greater Authority to the four first, than to the other *Councils**.

From the Beginning of the Reign of *Ethelred II*, to the *Norman Conquest*, the Ecclesiastical History of *England* furnishes us but with two *Councils*. In all appearance, the Wars with the *Danes* prevented the Bishops from coming together oftner, or rather were the Reason that the Acts of these *Conventions* are lost. Both these *Councils**², one

Century: At which time in the *Homily of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin* there is a direct Prayer to the *Blessed Virgin* to intercede for them, *Coll. Eccl. Hist.* p. 214.

* *Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon.*

*¹ This is directly opposite to the Doctrine of the Modern *Church of Rome*, which pays the same Submission to the Decrees of the *Council of Trent* as of *Nice*, and reckons the *Church* in all Ages alike Infallible.

*² They were made up of *Seculars* as well as *Ecclesiastics*, and the *Constitutions* pas'd there related both to *Church* and *State*; *Coll. Eccl. Hist.* p. 208.

one at *Engsham* and the other at *Haba* were conven'd, whilst *Elphegus* was Archbishop. The most remarkable *Canons* are as follow.

In the *Council of Engsham*, the II^d Canon enjoins the *Celibacy of the Clergy*. The Synod
of Eng-
sham.
Spel. Con.
Tom. I. p.
515.

The VIIth forbids all Persons to do any wrong to the Church, or to eject a *Clergyman* out of his *Benefice* without the Consent of the Bishop.

By the XVIIth every *Friday* was to be a *Fast*, unless it fell upon a *Holiday*.

XXth enjoins frequent *Confessions*, and the People are order'd to receive the *Sacrament* three times at least, in a Year.

The *Council of Haba* has but one *Canon* worth Notice. Synod of
Haba. By the Second, every Christian was oblig'd to fast three Days with Bread and Water, before the Feast of St. *Michael*, and to distribute among the Poor what he shou'd have eaten in these three Days.

This is all that is worth remarking in these two *Synods*. But to supply the want of *Councils*, we have the *Ecclesiastical Laws of Canute the Great*, and *Edward the Confessor*, some of which I shall here lay down, to show the great Regard these two Princes had for the *Clergy*. The following ones are *Canute's* *.

The IVth enjoins all Christians to pay great Respect to the *Clergy*, because their *Sacerdotal Functions* are extremely beneficial to the People. Canute's
Ecclesiasti-
cal Laws.

By the Vth, if a Priest was accus'd of any Crime, he had the Liberty of purging himself by saying *Mass*, and receiving the *Eucharist*.

The XIIth recommends *Celibacy* to the *Clergy*, and ranks them among the *Thanes* of the second Class, that is, among the *Gentry* *.

* In the Preamble, it is said these Laws were drawn up at *Winchester* by the Advice of the *Wise Men* of the Nation, that is, the *Prelates* and *Nobles*.

* This in Dr. *Wilkins* is the VIth. The Law says, if a Priest abstains from a Woman, may God have mercy upon him, and let him have the worldly Honour of a *Thane*. *Wilkins*, p. 129. c. 6;

The XXth ordains, that at Funerals the *Dues* shall be paid upon the breaking up of the Ground ; and that the *Dues* shall be paid to the Parish the Deceas'd belong'd to, tho' he was buried elsewhere.

The XXIIId enjoins the observance of *Sunday* from *Saturday* three a Clock in the Afternoon, till *Monday* break of Day *.

* See Vol.
I. p. 427.

The XXIIIId determines the Times of *Fasting*, and places the *Vigils* of the Festivals of the *Blessed Virgin* and of the *Apostles* among the *Fasts*.

There are several others, relating to the Payment of *Tythes* and *Peter-Pence*, against the Violation of the Privileges of the *Clergy* and the like, in favour of the *Church*.

It is likewise decreed by these Laws, That every Christian shou'd learn the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Apostles Creed*, and unless they did so, were neither allow'd to stand *Godfather*, to receive the *Communion*, nor to have *Christian Burial*.

*Ecclesiastical Laws
of Edward
Spelman.
p. 625.*

The Ecclesiastical Laws of *Edward the Confessor* run chiefly upon the Protection of the *Church* and *Clergy*.

The 1st forbids the molesting a *Clergyman*, contrary to the *Tenor* of the Privileges of the *Church*.

The IIId appoints certain Days, whereon all Proceedings in the *Courts of Justice* were to cease.

By the IIIId the *Church's Causes* are to be try'd first.

The IVth firmly establishes the Immunities of those who in any wise depend on the *Church*, and ordains that they shall not be oblig'd to answer any *Plea*, &c. except in the Ecclesiastical Court.

The Vth confirms the Privilege of *Sanctuary* to *Churches*, and extends it even to *Priests Houses*.

By the VIth, If any Person broke in upon the Privileges of the *Church*, he had no way to get off, but by submitting to the *Sentence* of the *Bishop*.

The VIIth orders the punctual Payment of *Tythes*, and sets forth what is to be paid.

The IXth determines the Circumstances relating to the *Tryal Ordeal*.

The

The XIIth settles the *Fine of Manbore*, or the Sum to be paid to the Lord, for killing any of his *Vassals* or *Slaves*: The King's and the Archbishop's *Manbore* is fix'd at the same Sum.

By the XIIIth all *found* Treasure belongs to the King, unless it is found in a *Church* or *Church-Yard*; then the Gold is the King's, and the Silver the *Church*'s *.

It is visible throughout these Laws, that the *Clergy* took care of themselves, when they had to do with *Devout* and *Easy Princes*, or such as stood in need of their Interest.

But notwithstanding the great Condescension of the *Saxon Kings* towards the *Clergy*, they cou'd not retain the Privilege of chusing their Bishops and Abbots. Whilst the Prelates confin'd themselves within the Bounds of their *Pastoral Functions*, and medled not with Civil Matters, the Power of Electing was left to the *Chapters*. But when the Bishops were become Rich and Popular, and began to interpose in State-Affairs, by reason of the *Fiefs* they were in possession of, it was a matter of great Consequence to the Kings, to have such Bishops and Abbots as were in their Interest, or at least, were oblig'd to them for their Preferments. Accordingly, the Kings began to interpose in Elections, by way of Canvassing, or Recommendation, and very often by refusing to put in Possession of the *Fiefs*, belonging to the Church or Abby, such Prelates and Abbots as they did not like. In fine, the Authority of the Court, by Degrees, prevail'd so, that in the time of *Ethelred II*, the *Monks* had entirely lost the Privilege of chusing their Abbots, as appears from *Ingulphus*. In those Days, says he, the Monks and Abbots seldom resorted to Court. But ever since the Kings have dispos'd of the Abbies, the Monks have made Interest with the Courtiers, which sometimes cost them very dear. This Historian loudly complains of this Abuse, tho' he himself was install'd in

* The Original Law in Dr. Wilkins, p. 199. c. 14. says, the Gold is all the King's, and half the Silver, and the other Half goes to the *Church*.

in the Abby of *Croyland* by the same Method, that is, by the Sole Will and Pleasure of *William the Conqueror*.

*Translations of
Sees.*

Dunelm.

There were but two Removals of Bishops *Sees* within the Period we have gone thro'. The *See of Kirton in Wessex* *, was remov'd to *Exeter* **, and the *See of Lindisfarn in Northumberland*, to *Durham*. *Aldbun Bishop of Lindisfarn*, to secure himself from the Incursions of the *Danes*, went and resided at *Durham*, carrying with him the *Relicks of St. Cuthbert*. He built a *Cathedral*, and fix'd his *See* there, where it has remain'd to this Day **.

The Bishops of Lan-daff first consecrat-ed by the Arch-bishop of Can-ter-bury.

In 981, the *Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury* acquir'd a new Jurisdiction in *Wales*. *Gucan*, a *Welsh Priest*, being chosen Bishop of *Lan-daff*, and consecrated by *Archbishop Dunstan*, this *Precedent* was follow'd by his Successors, who from that time own'd the *Archbishop of Canterbury* for their *Metropolitan*. Some infer from hence, that all the *British Bishops* from thenceforward own'd the Superiority of the *Church of Rome*. But this Consequence cannot be true. It is certain, the *Bishops of St. Davids* all along exercis'd the *Archiepiscopal Functions in Wales*, till the time of *Henry I*, and that without the Ornament of the *Pall*, the *Mark of Submission to the Pope* **.

As the *Archbishops of Canterbury and York* made the greatest Figure among the *English Prelates*, during the last Peri-

* *Crediton or Kirton* stands on the *Creden* in *Devonshire*; there are now no Footsteps of its having been a Bishop's *See*, but a great Meadow, call'd *My Lord's Meadow*.

** This City stands on the River call'd *Ise* by the *Britons*, and *Ex*, by the *Saxons*, whence the Names *Isea* and *Exan-cester*. The *Welsh* call it to this day *Caenisc*. It was made a Bishop's *See* by *Edward the Confessor*, in 1048. *Leofric a Burgundian* was the first Bishop. Here are 15 Churches. The Organ in the *Cathedral* is the largest in *England*, the greatest Pipe being 15 Inches diameter. The City is about a Mile and half in Compas.

** Durham being almost surrounded with the River *Wore*, was call'd by the *Saxons*, *Dunholme*, *Dun* signifying a Hill (the City being seated on one) and *Holme*, that is, a River Island; it was built about the Year 995.

*: See *Giraldus Cambrensis de jure & Statu Menevensis Ecclesia*, p. 518, &c. *Anglia Sacra*, P. II. *Marca de concord*, &c. l. 1. c. 7. Ann. 983.

Period of the *Saxon* Monarchy, it will not be amiss briefly to carry down the Succession to each of these *Sees*. This will be of Service towards clearing up what has been already, or what shall be hereafter, related of the Affairs of the Church.

Ethelgar, *Dunstan's Successor*, was Archbishop but one Year and three Months, and was succeeded by *Siricius*. This Prelate is blam'd by Historians, for advising *Ethelred* to buy his Peace of the *Danes*, which serv'd only as a Bait to allure them hither the more. But perhaps they who exclaim against him the most, wou'd have given the same Advice, had they been in his Place. *Elfric*, the Translator of the *Saxon Homilies*, mention'd before, succeeded him in 995, and was follow'd in 1006, by *Elphegus*, who was murder'd by the Hands of the *Danes*. *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* in the Conqueror's time, doubted very much whether *Elphegus* might properly be said to be a *Martyr*, since he was not massacred on account of Religion; but because he wou'd not consent his People shou'd be tax'd to pay his Ransom. *Anselm*, Abbot of *Bec*, whom he consulted on this Occasion, told him, that he, who chose to die rather than to do an unjust thing, receiv'd by his Death the Crown of *Martyrdom*. *Livingus* succeeded *Elphegus* in 1013. He was kept Prisoner for some time by the *Danes*, and after he was set at Liberty, retir'd into *France*, till the Storm was over. Afterwards he return'd to his *See*, and died in 1020. *Egelnoth*, call'd *the Good*, was his Successor. In the time of these two Archbishops, St. *Augustin's* Monastery was very much degenerated, by the libertine Lives of the Monks, who indeed wore the *Religious Habit*, but with little observance of the *Rule*. The Cause of this Alteration was, the massacring all the Monks, except four, when *Canterbury* was taken by the *Danes*. The Secular Clergy, who were taken in to fill up the Vacancy, were willing to enjoy the Revenues and Privileges of the Monastery, but not to be ty'd up to the *Rule* observ'd there before. They took greater Liberties than the old Monks, and gave the Title of *Dane* to their *Superior*, instead of that

Osbern.
Hoveden.
Eadmer.

*A great
Change in
St. Au-
gustine's
Monastery.*

that of *Abbot*, which remain'd till the time of Archbishop *Lanfranc*, who chang'd it into *Prior*. But to return to *Egelnorth*: This Prelate rais'd the *See of Canterbury* to its former Lustre, being supported by *Canute the Great*, with whom he was greatly in Favour *. He was succeeded by *Edfus*, who had been King *Harold's* Chaplain **. He govern'd the Church 'till the Year 1050, either by himself, whilst his Health permitted, or by a *Chorepiscopus*, when disabled by Sickness. This *Chorepiscopus*, who exercis'd all the *Archiepiscopal Functions*, resided at St. *Martins in the Fields* **. *Robert*, a Norman Monk, whom *Edward the Confessor* had made Bishop of *London*, was by him promoted to the *See of Canterbury* after *Edfus*. He was driven from thence in the Manher before related, and banish'd the Kingdom by an *Assembly General*, and *Stigand* Bishop of *Winchester* plac'd in his room. *Robert* appeal'd to the Pope against these Proceedings; but *Stigand*, without troubling himself about it, or staying for the Pope's Determination, who suspended him, got himself consecrated. But notwithstanding his Suspension, and altho' he had never applied to *Rome* for the *Pall*, he went on in his *Metropolitical Functions*, till he was depos'd in *William the Conqueror's* time **. It is very probable, that in those Days, the *English* were not of Opinion, that the Archbishops Elect might not exercise their Functions till the Pope was pleas'd to impower them, or that the bare Suspension

Stigand
though
suspended,
and with-
out the
Pall, ex-
erciseth the
Functions
of Arch-
bishop.

* *Egelnorth*, who was Archbishop 17 Years, refus'd to crown King *Harold*, telling him he was enjoin'd by *Canute* his Father to set the Crown upon none but the Issue of Queen *Emma*. Then laying the Crown on the Altar, he denounc'd an Imprecation against any Bishop that shou'd venture to perform the Ceremony. *Harpsfield. Hist. Eccl. Sac. XI. c. 10.* This, if true, is another Argument against *Canute's* Will. See p. 46.

** *Edfus* crown'd or anointed King *Edward the Confessor*, on *Easter-Day*, and then preach'd upon the Occasion. *Sax. Ann. MLXII.* This is the first *Coronation Sermon* we meet with.

** The Archbishops formerly had a *Chorepiscopus*, or *Assistant*; but this Office was extinguish'd by *Lanfranc*. *Coll. Eccl. Hist. p. 213.*

** *Malmsbury* says, he procur'd a *Pall* five Years after from *Benedict the Antipope*. *De Gest. Pontif. l. 3.*

Suspension of the Pope was sufficient to put a Stop to their acting as *Primates*.

The Succession of the Archbishops of *York* was as follows. After the Death of *Oswald* *, spoken of in Book IV, *Aldulph* succeeded him in 993, and govern'd this Church 'till 1002, when by his Death he made Room for *Wulftan II*, who, after 21 Years, was succeeded by *Elfric Putta*, surnam'd the *Grammian*, thought by some to be the Author of the Translation of the *Saxon Homilies*. To him succeeded *Kinsius* ** in 1050, after whom came *Aldred*, who was alive at the *Conquest*.

Among the Bishops of Note in those Days, *Wulftan* Bishop of *Worcester* was a Person of an extraordinary Character in some Men's Opinion, though *Lanfranc* thought him unqualified for the Office of a Bishop, for his Stupidity and want of Learning. But this is not the first time that weak Men have been put upon us for *Saints*. This Prelate having been consecrated by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, made his Profession of canonical Obedience to *Stigand* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, though suspended by the Pope. To account for this disregard of the Pope's Suspension, 'tis pretended, the Submission was made to the *See* of *Canterbury*, and not to the Person of *Cressy*, p. 984. *Stigand*: But when such like Assertions are advanc'd, they shou'd be back'd with some Authorities, whereas this here is destitute of all.

Edmund, Bishop of *Durham*, was remarkable for the Manner of his Election. The Chapter of *Durham* being met to elect a Bishop, but not being able to agree upon their Man, *Edmund*, a Priest of that Church, said jestingly, that since they were at so great a Loss who to choose, they had as good take him and make him Bishop. As

* He was buried at St. Mary's in *Worcester*.

** Chaplain to *Edward the Confessor*; *Stubbs* says, he ordain'd one *Magnus* Bishop of *Glasgow*, and *John* his Successor, and receiv'd an Acknowledgment of his Metropolitical Jurisdiction in Writing; which was lost with many other Instruments, when *York* was set on Fire by the *Normans* soon after the *Conquest*. *Stubbs* act. *Pontif. Eborac.* p. 1700.

Miracles were then much in Vogue, the Chapter look'd upon this Motion as a divine Impulse, and so unanimously agreed to elect him. He became famous for his Courage and Boldness in reprimanding Vice, even in Persons of the highest Birth and Stations.

English
Missiona-
ries in
Sweden.
Jo. Magn.
l. 17. c.
19. & 20
Loccenius
Hist. Succ.

Sax. Gram.
l. 10.

We may also reckon in the Number of illustrious Persons of that Age, certain *English Ecclesiasticks*, who flourish'd in Sweden and Norway. *Olaus Scot-Kuning*, King of Sweden, designing to turn Christian, desir'd *Ethelred* to send him over some *Missionaries* to instruct him in the Gospel. *Sigefrid* Archdeacon of York, and not Archbishop, as a *Swedish Writer* will have it, *Eskil, Gunnibald, Rudolf, and Bernard, or David*, undertook this *Mission*. *Sigefrid*, was made Bishop of *Wexia*, a City in the Province of *Smaland* in Sweden, and baptiz'd *Olaus*. Some say however that he receiv'd Baptism at the Hands of *Bernard*; but this is of no Moment. The greatest Part of these *Missionaries* were martyr'd by the Pagans, to whom they preach'd *.

I have spoken elsewhere, though in a general manner, of the Division of the Kingdom into *Parishes*. But seeing I am arriv'd at the End of the *Saxon Monarchy*, 'twill not be unserviceable to give a more particular Account of this Matter, with which I shall conclude all I have to say in relation to the *Anglo-Saxon Church*.

Augustin

* Through the Laziness or Ignorance of the Monks, the only Writers in those Days, we have but few Historians from *Affr* to the *Norman Conquest*. Next to *Affr* was *Ethelward*, who wrote in the Reign of *Edgar*, and liv'd till 1090, though he did not continue his Chronicle so far. He was (as he himself says) descended of the Blood Royal. His Works consist of four Books, which are publish'd by Sir *H. Savil*. Bishop *Nicholson* says, the whole is an imperfect Translation of the *Saxon-Annals*. His Style is boisterous and obscure, and in some Places hardly Sense; and therefore but of little use, unless in settling the Reigns and Deaths of some of our *Saxon Kings*, who liv'd about his Time, about which the Copies of the *Saxon Annals* differ. From him to the Conquest we meet with no Historians, except *Oibern*, who has wrote the Lives of St. *Dunstan* and St. *Alphege*, which are publish'd in the first Volume of *Anglia Sacra*; and the Author of a Treatise call'd *Encomium Emmae*, being a short Account of the Times immediately preceding the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*.

Augustin, the first Bishop of the *Saxons*, having receiv'd from the King of *Kent* some *Lands*, for the Maintenance of himself and the Monks he brought with him, dispos'd of the Profits of these Lands, and the *Offerings* of Christians as he thought fit. But because he wanted Instructions in this Matter, he consulted *Gregory I.* who told him, that it was the Custom in the *Church of Rome*, to divide the *Offerings* into four Portions, and to distribute one of them for the Maintenance of the inferior *Clergy*. In the mean time, as *Augustin* and his Companions were Monks of the same *Order*, the Pope exhorted them to live together as Brethren. Thus also liv'd *Aiden* and *Finn* Bishops of the *Northumbrians*, who were Monks as well as *Augustin*, though of a different *Order*. But it can't be inferr'd from hence, that in all the *Churches*, the *Bishop* and his *Clergy* liv'd in common, as some pretend. On the contrary, it seems to follow, from the *Bishop's* being oblig'd to distribute the fourth Part of the *Church's* Revenues among the *Clergy*, that they did not live in *common*. Be this as it will, the *Bishop* and *Clergy* were maintain'd both out of the Profits of the *Lands* given to the *Church*, and the daily *Offerings* of the People.

The Division of Parishes, when settled.
Coll. Eccl. Hist.

The Number of Christians encreasing every Day, and there being at first in each *Diocese*, which contain'd a whole Kingdom, but one *Church*, it cou'd not but be very incommodious to many of the new Converts to resort thither. 'Twas necessary therefore that others shou'd be built, and Priests sent to officiate in them. These Priests were not however fix'd upon any particular *Church*, but kept with the *Bishop*, who sent out sometimes one, sometimes another, to minister in the remote *Churches*, after which, they return'd to him. In proportion therefore as Christians encreas'd, new *Churches* were erected for the Convenience of those who liv'd at a Distance from the *Bishop's*. These *Churches* were no more than *Chapels of Ease* to the principal *Church*, to which belong'd all the *Offerings* that were made in the others. Accordingly the Priests at their return, put the *Offerings* they



A
DISSERTATION
ON THE
GOVERNMENT, LAWS,
CUSTOMS, MANNERS, and
LANGUAGE, of the AN-
GLO-SAXONS.

Particularly,

The ORIGIN, NATURE, and PRIVILEGES,
of their WITTENA-GEMOT, or PARLIAMENT.

Wherein are several Things absolutely Necessary for the
Understanding the present *Customs* and *Laws* of *England*.

BY

MR. DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

Done into *English*, and illustrated with Notes,
by *N. TINDAL*, M. A.

juvat antiquas exquirere fontes.

L O N D O N:

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The H E A D S or Principal Mat- ters contain'd in the following D I S S E R T A T I O N.

THE Nature of the Government establish'd in England by the Anglo-Saxons.

The Degrees and Orders of Men among the Anglo-Saxons from the King to the Slave.

Their Courts of Justice, viz. Tithing-Court, Hundred-Court, Trithing-Court, County-Court, but especially the Great Court of England, or the Witten-a-Gemot.

The Original of the Witten-a-Gemot, or Parliament; who were the Members of it, whether the Commons originally sat in Parliament?

The Privileges of the Witten-a-Gemot, and Authority in Church-Affairs.

The Power and Prerogative of the KING.

The Succession to the CROWN; the Arguments for and against its being Hereditary.

The Laws of the Anglo-Saxons. The Ordeal Tryal, Single Combat, and Corsned, &c.

The Manners, Customs, Religion, and Language of the Anglo-Saxons.

A DIS-



A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

*Government, Laws, Manners, Customs, and
Language of the ANGLO-SAXONS.*



HE Revolution that happen'd in *Europe* about the Beginning of the fifth *Century*, is one of the most remarkable Events in History. The *Roman Empire*, which was almost of the same extent with the known World, was divided at that Time in two Parts, one containing the *Eastern*, the other the *Western* Provinces. The *Western Empire* was so harrass'd by the continual Inroads of the *Northern Nations*, that, having lost by Degrees all its Provinces, it was reduc'd to nothing, and the very Name of *Emperor of the West*, vanish'd with his Dominions. This great Revolution spread a new Face of things over *Europe*, by introducing new Inhabitants, who rais'd new Kingdoms out of the Ruins of the *Roman Empire*, brought in at the same time new Laws and Customs in the conquer'd Countries. *Spain* was peopled with Colonies of *Visigoths*, *Catti*, *Alans*, and *Suevi*. The *Gauls* were overwhelm'd with a Deluge of *Visigoths*, *Burgundians*,

The greatest Part of the Laws in Europe came from the North.

A DISSERTATION on the

and *Francs*. *Italy* was so frequently invaded by the *Hericuli*, *Ostrogoths*, and *Lombards*, that the Natives were so far from being superior in Number, that they made no Figure at all. The *Saxons*, *Suevi*, and *Baravi*, spread themselves over all *Germany*, and became Masters of that vast Tract of Land. In fine, *Great-Britain* was so overrun with *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Jutes*, that hardly can we trace out any Remains of the *antient Britons*. 'Twas very natural for these *Conquerors* to establish in their newly erected Kingdoms their own Country Customs. And therefore it may be laid down for certain, that the *Laws* now in Force throughout the greatest Part of *Europe*, are deriv'd from the *Laws* these antient Conquerors brought with them from the *North*. This might be easily made out with relation to all the Countries that had any Part in this great *Revolution*. But at present I shall confine myself to *England* alone. By what I am going to say, all such as have any Knowledge of the *English Constitution*, will easily be convinc'd, that the *Customs* now practis'd in that Kingdom are for the most Part the same as the *Anglo-Saxons* brought with them from *Germany*.

*The Laws
of Eng-
land de-
riv'd from
the Saxons.*

In the second Book of this History we have seen how the *Saxons* were no sooner come into *Great-Britain*, but they form'd a Design of settling there, and how at length they accomplish'd their Ends after a War of 150 Years. This long War bred such an Animosity between them and the *Britons*, that there is no Probability the *Saxons*, who in the End were victorious, shou'd take from the Vanquish'd the Form of Government they establish'd in their Conquests. If therefore we are desirous of tracing out the Origin of the *Laws* and *Customs* of the *Anglo-Saxons*, we must search for it in *Germany* and the *Northern Countries*, rather than among the antient *Britons*. The Truth is, such is the Resemblance between the *Laws* of the *Saxons*, *Francs*, *Suevi*, *Lombards*, and the other *Northern Nations*, that it necessarily follows from thence, these *Laws* sprung from the same Source, and were of an older Date than the Separation of these People. This Resemblance is still much stronger between the *Laws* of the *Anglo-*

glo-Saxons in Great-Britain, and of the Saxons in Germany, since they were both the same Nation, Part whereof went and settled in England. An English Historian, by comparing the Laws and Customs of the Germans with those of the English, has plainly made appear, that the English introduc'd into Great-Britain the same Laws they had liv'd under in their own Country. He even assures us, that till the Norman Conquest, there was not so much as one Law in England, but what, in the Main, the Germans had the same. 'Tis true, as the Anglo-Saxons were made up of three several Nations, who were settled in different Parts of England, there might be some Difference upon that Account, between the Seven Kingdoms of the Heptarchy. But this Difference cou'd not be very great, since these three Nations were united in Germany, before their Coming into England, and made there but one and the same People under the general Name of Saxons. All therefore that can be inferr'd from hence, is that the Laws establish'd by the Anglo-Saxons in England, were a Mixture of the Laws of the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes. But to look for the Origin of the English Constitution among the antient Britons, wou'd be going upon no Foundation, tho' 'tis not impossible, but their Forms of Government might in some Respects be conformable. The Laws and Customs therefore, introduc'd into Great-Britain by the Anglo-Saxons, are to be consider'd, as made up of the Laws, their Ancestors brought with them into Germany, and of those they found enacted among the antient Germans. And indeed, what Tacitus says of the German Customs, corresponds so exactly with several of the Saxon ones, that one can hardly question, but the Saxons borrow'd many things from the Germans, unless we shou'd chuse to say, that the Customs of both Nations flow'd from the same Fountain. But to trace back these Matters to their Common Source, wou'd be a Work of infinite Labour. And therefore without carrying this Inquiry any further, I shall content my self with laying down a Plan of the Government these Conquerors establish'd in England.

A DISSERTATION on the

The Title of King among the Saxons. The *Saxons* had no Kings in *Germany*, when they sent over their first Troops to assist the *Britons* under the Conduct of *Hengift* *. Their Territories were divided into twelve Provinces, over each of which a Head or Governor was appointed by the *Assembly-General* of the Nation, wherein the *Supreme Power* was lodg'd. This Assembly was call'd, *Witten-a-gemot*, that is to say, the *Assembly of the Wise-men* **; and also the *Micel-Synod*, that is, the *Great Assembly*. Besides these Heads of Provinces there were others also set over the Cities and *Burroughs*. In time of War, the *Assembly* elected a *General* to command the Army, and to be the *Chief* or *Head* of the Commonwealth **. There is no Doubt but this *General* had great *Prerogatives*; tho' we are ignorant of their precise Number and Extent. It even appears, by the perpetual Contests in *England*, between the Princes invested with this high Dignity, and the other Kings, that these *Prerogatives* had no fix'd and settled Bounds.

Tho' the Title of *King* was not in use among the *Saxons*, *Hengift* however took it upon him as soon as he was put in possession of *Kent*. Indeed, 'twould have been a hard Matter for him to have found any Other so proper to denote his *Sovereignty* over that Province. 'Tis true, the Titles of *Duke* and *Earl*, or, what is the same, of *Heretogh* and *Ealdorman*, were not then unknown. But they were not as yet us'd to signify *Sovereigns*. 'Twas not till long after, that, certain *Dukes* and *Earls* being invested with Sovereign Power, these Titles were made use of to denote the supreme Authority. The other *Saxon* Leaders, who settled in *Great-Britain* after *Hengift*, imitated his Example, in assuming the Title of *King*. Thus, whereas in *Germany*, the *Saxon* Territories were divided into twelve *Govern-*

The Form of Government esta-blisch'd by the Saxons in Eng-land.

* It is observable, that in *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy* they have no word that signifies *King*, but what is borrow'd from the *Latin*, a Language these Invaders were Strangers to when they settled in their Conquests.

** Whence our *Parliament* is sometimes stil'd, *The Wisdom of the Nation*.

** This *General* was chosen out of the Twelve Governors.

Governments, their Conquests in *England* were canton'd out into Seven Kingdoms; but with this Difference, that in *Germany*, each Governor depended on the *Assembly-General* of the Nation, whereas in *England*, each King was *Sovereign* in his petty Kingdom. But still this did not exempt him from all Dependance on the *Wittena-gemot* of his own State, which in conjunction with him regulated all important Affairs. Moreover, by mutual Consent, there was establish'd a *General Assembly* of the whole *Seven Kingdoms*, wherein Matters relating to all in Common were debated. Hence this Form of Government, which consider'd the *Seven Kingdoms* as united in one Body, was call'd, *the Heptarchy*, that is, *the Government of Seven*.

These first Kings, having scarce any other Subjects but ^{A Wittena-ge-} their own Countrymen, durst not think of assuming a ^{mot in} *despotick* Power. Perhaps they had never any such ^{each King-} Thoughts, having been accustom'd to the contrary ^{in dom.} in their own Country. They establish'd therefore, or rather continued a *Wittena-gemot*, each in his own Kingdom, wherein the same Affairs were determin'd, as were wont to be so in the like *Assemblies in Germany*. As for what concern'd the common Interest of the *Seven Kingdoms*, 'twas debated in a *General Assembly* of the Nation, at which were present all the Kings and Great Men of the *Heptarchy*. 'Tis not precisely known what were the *Rights* and *Privileges* of the *General Wittena-gemot*. In all likelihood they were much the same the *States-General* of the *United Provinces* enjoy at this Day. Each King was *Sovereign*; but put in Execution the Determinations agreed upon in Common, to which he had given his Consent, either in Person or by his Deputies. Be this as it will, the common Opinion is, that there was a *Wittena-gemot* for each Kingdom in Particular, and a *General one* for all the *Seven**.

From

* In order to have a clear Notion of the *Gotrick-Model* of Government establish'd in the several Kingdoms of *Europe*, 'twill be necessary to consider the Nature of their Armies that were sent out in quest of new Habitations. As their whole Nation was divided, like

A DISSERTATION on the

*The Nature
of the
Saxon Ge-
overnment.*

From hence 'tis no hard Matter to judge of the Nature of the Anglo-Saxon Government. 'Twas *Monarchical*,

like the *Israelites*, into so many distinct *Tribes* with each its own Judges, without any common Superior, unless in time of War, like the *Roman Dictator*: So in like Manner the Armies or Colonies, sent out upon their Country's being overstock'd with Inhabitants, were not Armies of *Hirelings*, who conquer'd for the Benefit of their *Paymasters*, but *Voluntary Societies* or *Partners* in the Expedition, consisting of so many distinct Armies out of every *Tribe*, conducted each by their own Leaders, and united under one Common General or Superior chosen by Consent, who was also Head or Captain of his own *Tribe*. This then being the Nature of the Confederate Army, 'tis evident that upon their conquering a Country, the Property of the *Land* was in the whole *Collective Body*, and that every Individual had a Right to a share in what he had help'd to conquer. Accordingly to fix this undetermin'd Right, the conquer'd Country was divided into as many *Shares* (call'd afterwards *Squires*, *Coutries*, &c.) as the General or King had Companions, or as the Army was compos'd of *Tribes*, that each *Tribe*, as they had liv'd together in their own Country, might do the same in their new Settlement. After this general Division, the Lands were portion'd out among the Leaders and Officers, who subdivided them among their Followers. These Allotments, whilst annual or for life, were call'd in Latin, *Beneficia*, (a word appropriated since to *Church Preferments*) and afterwards *Fiefs*, that is, *a Gift of Possessions*, from the Teutonick, *Fee* a *Gift*, and *od* a *Possession*; in our Language they are still call'd *Fees*. As it was necessary upon their settling in a newly subdu'd Country, to continue their General, he may be consider'd in two respects; first, as Lord of a private District divided among his own particular Followers, and as Lord or Head of the great Seniority of the Kingdom. Thus we may frame an Idea of the Nature of the Governments settled in *Europe* by the *Northern Nations*. Over each District or County presid'd an *Ealdorman* or *Earl*, who with an Assembly of the *Landholders* or *Vassals*, (so call'd from *Gesell*, the name they went by in their own Country) regulated all Affairs relating to the *County*. And over the great Seigniory of the Kingdom presid'd the General or King, who with a General Assembly of the *Wites* or *Vassals* of the Crown, regulated the Affairs relating to the whole Community. How this was done in *England*, and who were the Members of the *County-Courts* or *Assemblies*, as well as of the *Great Court* of the Kingdom, will be shown under the next Head of the *Courts of Justice*. From what has been said, many useful Remarks may be made. Hence we see the Origin of the *Principalities*, *Dukedoms*, *Counties*, and the like, that the several *European* Kingdoms are divided into. From hence we may also observe that the *Property* or

chical, as each Kingdom had its King ; but then 'twas also *Aristocratical*, as the King had not the Power of making Laws without the Consent of the *Assembly-General*, consisting of the Chief Lords of the Nation. Several go farther, and affirm 'twas partly *Democratical*, and that the *People* sent their *Representatives* to the *Witten-a-gemot*, as they do now to the *Parliament*. This Opinion shall be fully examin'd hereafter. In the mean time 'twill be necessary to take a View of the several *Ranks* and *Degrees* of Men among the *Anglo-Saxons*, since otherwise there is no having a distinct Knowledge of the Nature of their Government.

*The several
Degrees
and Orders
of Men
among the
Anglo-
Saxons.*

I shall

or *directum Dominium* of the Land was in the Collective Body or the Publick, and that the *Tenants in Fee* were only invested with the *Dominium utile*; and therefore that the *Great Lords* held their *Seigniories* of the Publick or Kingdom, and not of the King. Thus the *German* Princes hold of the *Empire*, not of the Emperor; and this is the Reason of the *English* Lords being call'd *Peers of the Realm*, tho' they are now commonly thought to have held of the King. After the *Fees* from being annual became Estates of *Inheritance*, many Differences arose between the *Superiors* and the *Vassals*, and between the *Vassals* themselves, upon which their reciprocal Rights and Duties were inquir'd into and settled. The Rules collected from such Decisions by Degrees, were term'd the *Feudal Law*, and prevail'd over *Europe* for many Ages. This Law is distinguish'd by Bishop *Nicolson* into three Periods; its Birth, from the Irruption of the Northern Nations to 650; its Infancy, from thence to 800; its Youth, from thence to 1027; And lastly, its State of Perfection soon after that time. The Princes of *Europe* and their People being link'd together by *Feudal Tenures* (the which if duly consider'd will effectually show the true Nature of the *Royal Power* and the *Measures* of the People's Obedience) remain'd for a long time in a happy State, there having been no Prince in *Europe* that ever imagin'd he had a Title to arbitrary Power, till the *Civil Law*, which had been buried in oblivion for some time after the settling of the Northern Nations in the *Western Empire*, was brought to light. Then some Princes made the *Lex Regia* a handle to assume a despotic Power, and introduc'd the *Civil Law* purely upon that Account into their Kingdoms. This was unsuccessfully attempted in *England*; but it prevails in other Parts of *Europe*, even in *Spain* it self, where the Reading it purely for this Cause, was once forbid on Pain of Death. See *St. Amand's Essay on the Legislatu're Power of England*, p. 46.

The King. I shall say Nothing here of the *King*, because I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of his *Power* and *Prerogatives*.

The Queen. The *Queen* was the Second Person in the State; tho' only with regard to the Respect that was paid her, for she had nothing to do in the Government. If sometimes the *Queens* sign'd the *Charters* with the Kings their Husbands, 'twas rather on account of their Rank, than for any Necessity there was for it. During the whole time of the *Saxon* Government, we find but one *Queen* invested with the *Sovereignty*; I mean *Saxburga Queen of Wessex*. However some Historians assure us, she was depos'd by the *West-Saxons*, purely on the Score of her being a Woman. We have seen, how on account of *Brithrick's* Death, *Egbert's* immediate Predecessor, the same *West-Saxons* depriv'd their *Queens* of the *Prerogatives* they had till then enjoy'd. The Title of *Queen*, which was, and still is given to the *Queen*, means only in its original Signification, a *Companion*, in *Latin*, *Comes*. In Process of time this Term was made use of to denote more particularly those who were nearest the King's Person; from whence it came to have a more general Signification, and to be understood of the *Great Lords*. Thus we find in the old *French Romances*, and Poets, *Li Queen de Flandre*, *Li Queen de Leicester*, instead of, *the Earls of Flanders* and of *Leicester*. The word *Queen* then was common to Men and Women, just as *Comes* in *Latin*. In fine, the Term *Count* or *Earl* being substituted in its Room, when applied to Men, *Queen* was appropriated to the Women only. Afterwards coming to have a more restrain'd Signification, it was made use of only to denote the *Companion of the King*, or the *Queen*. But 'tis to be observ'd, this Appellation is common to all *Queens*, whether they hold their Dignity by virtue of their Husband's, or of their own Right.

The Princesses. The King's Sons and the Princes of the Royal Family held the Third Rank. They were distinguish'd by the Title of *Clyto*, taken from a *Greek* word signifying, *Illustrious*. 'Tis somewhat difficult to know the Reason why the *Saxon* Princes affected a *Greek* Title. One wou'd be

Remark on the Title of Clyto.

be apt to think the word *Clyto* came from some old Saxon Term, if *Edgar's Title of Totius Anglia Basileus*^{*}, did not make it visible, they had a view to the Greek. As this Title was peculiar to the Princes, they came by Degrees to make use of *Clyto* alone, to denote a Prince of the Royal Blood. Accordingly, nothing is more common in the antient English Historians than to meet with the Terms *Clytones*, *Clytonculi* instead of, *the King's Sons*. In Proces of time, the *Saxon* Term, *Atheling*, from *Athel*, that is, *Noble*, was substituted in its Place. As for the Termination *Ing*, it denotes the Extraction or Descent, as *Malmsbury* informs us. *The Sons of the Kings of England*, says he, *were wont to assume Names, which shew'd their Extraction*. Thus, *the Son of Edgar nam'd himself Edgaring, the Son of Edmund, Edmunding, and so of the others*. But they had all one common Title, namely, that of *Atheling*. As the *French*, which settled in *Gaul*, came from *Germany*, 'tis very likely the Dermination *Ing* in the words, *Merovingians*, and *Carlovingians*, that is, the Descendents of *Merovius* and *Charles*, is deriv'd from the same Source.

The next Degree, after the Prince, was that of *Ealdorman*^{**}. This Word, which in its primary Signification means only an *Aged Man*, came by Degrees to stand for Persons of the greatest Distinction, apparently because such were chosen to discharge the highest Offices, whose long Experience had render'd them most capable. 'Tis not only among the *Saxons* that this word is us'd in these two different Senses. We find in Scripture that the *Elders* of *Israel*, of *Moab* and of *Midian* were taken for the chief Men of their respective Nations. The Word, *Senator*, *Senor*, *Signor*, *Seigneur*, in *Latin*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *French*, signify the same thing. The *Ealdormans* therefore in *England* were the most considerable of the

* King *Edgar* styles himself thus in his Charter to *Glaffenburg-Abby*, as it stands in *Malmsbury's Antiquities* of that Monastery.

** Our Author calls them *Earldorman*; but I can't find the word is so spelt in any Writer. *The Saxon Annals*, &c. stil'd them *Ealdorman*.

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Nobility, discharg'd the highest Offices, and consequently had the largest Estates. As they were generally intrusted with the Government of the *Counties*, instead of saying the *Governor*, they said the *Ealdorman* of such a *County*. Hence it was that by Degrees this Word came to signify the Governor of a *County* or *City*. Whilst the *Heptarchy* lasted, these Offices were only during the King's Pleasure, who turn'd out the *Ealdormans* when he thought fit, and plac'd others in their Room. At length they became during Life, at least for the most Part. But however, this did not hinder the *Ealdormans* from being displac'd upon several Accounts. We have seen Instances of this in the Reigns of *Canute the Great*, and *Edward the Confessor*. After the *Danes* were settled in *England*, the Title of *Ealdorman* was by Degrees chang'd into that of *Earl*, a *Danish* Word of the same Import. Afterward the *Normans* brought in that of *Count*, which, though different in its primary Signification, meant however the same Dignity. But for Reasons too long to be insisted upon here, the *Danish* Term *Earl*, is still us'd to denote the same Person, call'd in other Countries *Count*.

*Several
Sorts of
Ealdor-
man.*

There were several sorts of *Ealdorman*. Some were only Governors of a Province or County. Others held their Province as an Estate of Inheritance, and as a *Fee* of the Crown, so that it was always consider'd as a *Parcel* of the State. The History of *Alfred the Great*, affords an Instance of this last Sort of *Ealdormans*, which were very rare in *England*. We find there that this Prince gave the *Inheritance* of *Mercia* to *Earl Ethelred*, and that *Elfleda* his Widow kept Possession of it in the Reign of *Edward the Elder*. And 'twas not but by Force that *Edward* dispossess'd his Niece *Alfwina* after the Death of *Elfleda*. *Malmsbury* speaking of *Edward the Elder*, expresses himself thus; *He had united the two Kingdoms of Mercia and Wessex; but as for the first, he was only titular King of it, because it had been given to a Lord nam'd Ethelred.* And to show in what Manner this Lord held *Mercia*, the same Historian speaking of *Alfred the Great*, says, *He gave London, the Capital of Mercia, to a Lord call'd Ethelred.*

Ethelred, who had married Elfleda his Daughter, to hold it of him by Fealty and Homage. Hence 'tis plain, *Ethelred* held *Mercia* as a *Fee*, in the same Manner that *Octa* and *Ebusa* had formerly held *Northumberland* of the Crown of *Kent*, as this Historian assures us. Thus also in *France*, about the third Descent of their Kings, the *Dukedoms* and *Earldoms*, which were before only bare Governments, were made *Hereditary*, on condition of doing Homage for them. These *Ealdormans* or *Earls* were honour'd with the Titles of *Reguli*, *Subreguli*, *Principes*, *Patricii*, and sometimes *Reges* *. As for the others, who were only Governors, they had the Title of *Ealdorman* of such a County, expreis'd sometimes in *Latin* by the Term *Consul*. The first administred Justice in their own Name; appropriated to their own Use all the Profits and Revenues of their respective *Counties*. The last administred Justice in the King's Name, and had only a certain Share of the Profits assign'd them. Earl *Goodwin*, how great a Lord soever he was in other respects, was of this last Rank. To these may be added a third Order of *Ealdormans*, who had the Title, though without a Government, on account of their high Birth, out of these it was that the Governors were usually chosen. Thus the Title of *Ealdorman* was us'd sometimes to signify only a *Person of Quality*.

There were also inferior *Ealdormans* in *Cities* and *Boroughs*. But these were only subordinate Magistrates, who administred Justice in the King's Name, and were dependent on the great *Ealdormans* or *Earls*. The Name of *Ealdorman* or *Alderman* is still given to these inferior Officers, whilst the others have the Title of *Earl* or *Count*.

The Office of an *Ealdorman* was wholly *Civil*, and had nothing to do with *military* Affairs. There was in each Province a *Duke*, who commanded the *Militia*. The Name of *Duke* taken from the *Latin Dux*, is a Modern Term. The *Saxons* call'd this Officer *Heretogh* *. He had no Right to meddle with *Civil* Matters. His Business was of a quite different Nature from that of an *Earl*,

*Dukes or
Heretog-
han.*

** i. e. Pub-
lick Leader
or Captain.*

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Earl, as he was also independent of him. *Hengist* and *Horsa* are call'd in the *Saxon Annals*, *Heretoghs*, or *Dukes*, because they were sent into *Great-Britain* not to govern the Country, but to command in the War. On the contrary, *Oda* and *Ebusa* have all along in the same *Annals* the Title of *Ealdorman*, because they were Governors of *Northumberland*, under the Kingdom of *Kent*. 'Tis true, they might also be stil'd *Dukes* as they had the Command of the Army. Accordingly we find in our Histories, sometimes the Title of *Duke*, sometimes of *Earl*, given to the same Person, when these two Offices were united in one, as they frequently were, towards the End of the *Heptarchy*. Thus, the Governors of *Wessox*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, are indifferently call'd, *Dukes* or *Earls*. But I don't know the Reason, why Historians never give the Title of *Duke* to the Governor of *Northumberland*. And yet some of them had the Command of the Armies, as is plain from the Example of *Sward*, to whom *Edward the Confessor* committed the Management of the War with *Cumberland**.

Ealdor-
man of all
England.

There were among the *Saxons*, three very considerable Offices, or Dignities, two whereof were Civil, and the third, Military. The first, which very few Subjects were ever entrusted with, was that of *Ealdorman of all England*. This Office answers to that of *Chief Justiciary of England*, *Viceroy*, and *Guardian of the Realm*. This was so high a Dignity that the Person invested with it, was honor'd with the Title of *Half-Kyning*, or *Demi-King*. We find in the History of the *Anglo-Saxons*, but two Lords who were rais'd to this Post, namely, *Athelstan Earl of East-Anglia*, and *Alwin his Son*, who were stil'd *Totius Anglia Aldermannus*.

The

* The Union of these two Offices in one Person was no more than what was practis'd among the *Romans* in the Person of their *Consul*. The Art of War in the *Saxons* time was not arriv'd to that Degree of Nicety as it is at present. You have at large the Duty of the *Heretogb*, and the manner of his being elected by the County-Assembly at a full *Folk-mote*, in the Laws of *Edward the Confessor*. See Dr. *Wilkins*, p. 205. De *Heretochijs*.

The Second great Office was that of *Chancellor**. He Chancellor determin'd all Causes that were brought to the King's lor. Court, and from him lay no Appeal. 'Twas his Bülinet's Selden also to draw up, and Sign, all the King's *Charters*, with-out which they wou'd have wanted some necessary Formalities. The First *Chancellor*, mention'd in the *Saxon History*, was *Turketule*, Cousin to *Edward the Elder*, who was afterwards Abbot of *Croyland*. However I am apt to think this Office was of a more *Modern* Instituition.

The Third considerable Officer was the Général of the Kyning's Army, in *Saxon*, *Kyning's-Hold*, that is, the King's General. He was Chief of the Dukes, or the *Generalissimo*, like the *High-Constable of France*. This Office lasted on-ly during the War. In time of Peace, or when the King did not think fit to have a *Generalissimo*, the *Holds* or *Dukes* of each Province had the Care of the *Militia*.

Next to the *Earls* and *Dukes* were the *High-Sheriffs* of High-the *Counties*. These were Officers sent by the King into such *Counties* as had no *Earls*, to administer Justice in his Name and Stead. They were call'd in *Latin*, *Summi Praepositi*, *Custodes Provinciarum*, and afterwards, *Vicecomites*, not that they were under the *Earls*, or *Counts*; but because they perform'd the Office of One. 'Tis vety true, there were some times *High-Sheriffs* in those *Counties*, where there were also *Earls*, but Selden supposes 'twas up-on Account of such *Counties* being by some peculiar Privilege under the immediate Jurisdiction of the King. But however this be, hence came the Title of *Viscount*, the next in order to that of *Earl* or *Count*. As for the Name of *Sheriff**¹, it was continued to some Inferior Officers,

who

* So call'd from the barbarous *Latin* word *Cancellare*, from his Cancelling or Striking out what he pleas'd in Men's Grants and Petitions. *Tyrel. Introd.* p. 73.

*¹ *Sheriff*, as if, *Shire-reve*, i. e.) *Præfect of the Shire*, from the *Saxon*, *Gresa* contracted into *Greſa* and *Greve*, and by the *Normans*, into *Reve*: thus *Portgreve* is *Præfector Portus*, from the German word *Grave*, which signifies a *Judge*. Whence the old Words, *Cent Grave*, *Iun Grave* &c. for the Chief Magistrates in the *Hundreds* and *Tythings*. Thus in *Germany* the Judges of the

*Titles of Honour. p.
505.*

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who did the Duty, in each *County*, of the antient *Viccounts*: These last having been long since rank'd among the *Peers* of the Realm.

Thanes.

After the *High-Sheriff's* came the *Thanes*, a Name in *Saxon* signifying *Minister* or *Servant*. There were two Sorts, *Masi-Thanes*, that is, *Ecclesiastical Thanes*, and *Werold-Thanes*, that is, *Lay-Thanes*. The *Thanes* in general were divided into three Classes. The first were the *King's Thanes*, who were the immediate *Tenants* of the Crown, and did *Homage* to the King only. These were properly what were afterwards call'd *Peers of the Realm*, and made the Body of the greater Nobility. Consequently, *Dukes*, *Ealdormans*, and *Viscounts* were rank'd among the *Thanes* of the *First Class*, as well as they who having no Offices were the immediate *Tenants* of the Crown. The *Normans* chang'd the Term *Thane* into *Baron*, and stil'd the Lands, *Baronies*, which the *Saxon* call'd *Thane-lands*. Hence it has been the Custom for a long while in *England* to rank all the greater Nobility under the general Title of *Barons*, because all the Great Men were *Thanes* *. The Second

Burroughs and *Marches* were call'd *Bur-Graves* and *Mark-Graves*, and *Grave* is still us'd there to signify the *Sovereign Princes* of the Territories 'tis applied to. The *Saxon Sheriff's* were chosen by the Assembly of the County. See Dr. Wilkins, p. 205.

* It is the common Opinion that the *Barons* after the Conquest were the same with the *Thanes* in the *Saxon* times; but upon Examination it will appear otherwise. The Word *Thane* occurs not in the oldest *Saxon* Monuments, and their Original seems to be this. When time had polish'd the *Anglo-Saxons*, many Offices that the *Great Men* discharg'd at first in their own Persons, were for Ease and Grandeur by them devolv'd on others. And as in those Days there was but little Money, such Persons were rewarded for their Services, by having Land given them. Such Lands were call'd *Tain-land*, which paid no Rent, the Superior having the Tenant's Service in Lieu of it. Thus a *Great Lord's Chamberlain*, *Hawker*, *Hunter* were call'd his *Thanes*. These *Thanes* were divided into *greater* or *lesser*, only differing in this, that the *greater* held of the King, and the *lesser* of some Subject. Hence it appears that the *Thanes* were no other Persons than those the *Normans* call'd *Tenants by Serjeancy*, when the *Service* was of a publick Nature, that is, if Land were given for the *Service* of *High-Steward*, or *Marshal* of *England*, such *Gift* and *Service* was call'd *Grand Serjeancy*: but if for *Service* of

Second Clas of *Thanes* were what they call'd *Middle-Thanes*, because there being others of an Inferior degree under them, they held the Middle Rank. If they held any Lands of the King, they were inconsiderable, and generally speaking, what they held was of the Earls or Barons. The *Normans* gave them the Name of *Vavasors*, and their Lands, *Vavasories*. The Third Clas of *Thanes* were such as held their Lands of the *Middle-Thanes*, or *Vavasors*. These were not rank'd among the lesser Nobility. They were properly such as liv'd upon their own Estates, and being of no Profession, were distinguish'd from the meaner sort of People. If I am not mistaken, to théle belong'd particularly the Title of *Gentlemen*; whereas the *Middle-Thanes* were in the same Rank with our *Knights* and *Squires* at this Day. I am very sensible that several Selden are of opinion that the Title of *Gentleman*, is equivalent to that of *Nobilis*, and consequently that they were a Part of the Nobility. The Affinity between the Words *Gentleman*, and *Gentilhomme*, seems to favour this Notion. I have no Design to dispute this Matter with them. I shall only observe this remarkable Difference between a *Gentilhomme* of *France*, and a *Gentleman* of *England*. In *France*, there being but one Body of Nobility, every *Gentilhomme* is a Member of that Body, and no less *Noble* than a Duke. But a *Gentleman* in *England* can at best be rank'd but in the Second Order of *Nobles*, that is, among the lesser Nobility or *Genery*. Besides in *England*, abundance of People of very mean Birth are call'd *Gentlemen*, who most certainly in *France* wou'd have no Right to be stil'd *Gentilhommes*.

The lowest order among the Saxons, I mean, of *Free-Men*, was that of the *Ceorle*, that is, *Merchants*, *Artificers*, *Countrymen* and others. Hence no doubt is deriv'd

The Ceorles.

of *Steward of the Household*, *Master of the Horse*, these respecting only the Person of the King, such *Services* made only a *Tenure of Petit Serjeanty*. Now the first of these only, as holding of the Publick, were rank'd among the Barons. *Serjeanty* is French for *Servitium*, so that *Thanes* and *Serjeants* mean the same thing, viz. *Ministers or Servants*. *Vide St. Amand.* p. 112.

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the Word *Cheyl*, or *Cark*, a Name given by way of Contempt to People of mean Condition. The *Cearles* were equally free, as to their Persons, with the *Thanes* of the third Class, however with this Difference: The *Thanes* held such Estates as were call'd *Bock-land*, or *Free-land*, conveyable by *Deed* or otherwise: But the *Cearles* were possest'sd only of what they call'd *Soc-land* or *Lands*; of the *Plow*, which they cou'd not alienate, because they were only in the Nature of *Farmers*. These were the highest Degree of the *Cearles*, and were distinguish'd by the honorable Name of *Socmen*, by such who were not rich enough to attain to it, and by such as gain'd their livelihood by some Trade. All in general under *Thanes* and above *Slaves* were in the Rank of *Cearles*, who [as to their Persons, tho' not Lands] were as free as the *Ealdormans* and *Thanes* themselves. They might even arrive at the Dignity of a *Thane* of the third Class, if they so thriv'd as to be in possession of five *Hydes* of *Land*, a *House* with an enclos'd *Court*, a *Kirchin*, a *Hall* and a *Bell* to call their Domesticks together. Selden thinks a *Hyde* of *Land* was such a *Quantity* as cou'd be manag'd with one *Plow* *.

* See p. 9. Of Bonds-men, two sorts. The lowest Rank of Men were the *Slaves* or *Bond-men*, two of whom there were two Sorts; such as were really *Slaves*, who, possessing no Estates, work'd only for their Lords, by whom for that reason they were maintain'd. The others, who were properly *Servants*, had small *Holdings* at the Will of their Lords, for which they did all the servile Country Works that were set them. As for the original of these *Slaves*, some think they were the Descendents of the meaner sort of *Britons*, who submitted to become *Slaves*, in order to save their Lives, during the furious Proceedings of the first *Saxons* in *England*. Others are of opinion, they were deriv'd from such as the *Saxons* brought over in the Nature of *Slaves* into *England*. However this be, these [Pradij] *Bondmen*, not quite so much *Slaves* as the others, manag'd their Lords *Lands*, from whence they had some small Advantage themselves, without having the Liberty of quitting the Place of their Abode and going to settle elsewhere, unless they had their Lord's Consent. They were

were afterwards call'd *Villains*, that is, *Villagers*, from the Villages where they liv'd and work'd. We meet in several Parts of Germany, with such sort of *Peasants*, who are subject to a great Deal of *Draudgery*, and who generally are dealt very hardly with by their Lords. When a Slave had his Freedom given him, he was immediately rank'd among the *Ceorles*, the Slaves that were made free not constituting, as some pretend, a new Order of Men. 'Tis true they were call'd *Freelacean*, that is, *Freedmen*: but 'twas only to distinguish them from those that were born *Free*, who had however no peculiar Privileges. Among the *Anglo-Saxons*, the Lords had not the Power of Life and Death over their Slaves. The Laws had even provided, that they shou'd not cripple or maim them without incurring a Penalty. They, who made such Laws, imitated in some Measure the *Law of God*, without knowing it *.

All the King's Subjects, except *Slaves* and *Villains*, were *Freehold-Freemen* and *Freeholders*. But tho' *Earls*, *Barons*, or *Thanes* etc. might be included under this general Appellation, yet by *Freeholders* is commonly meant the *Thanes* of the second and third *Classes*, and the *Ceorles*.

The Inhabitants of Towns, who were call'd *Burgh-witan* or *Burghers*, had the Privilege of being govern'd by *Aldermen* Magistrates chosen out of their own Body, to whom they gave the Title of *Aldermen*, and also of forming themselves into *Corporations* **. This Privilege was granted them for

* There were in England two Sorts of *Villains*, a *Villain in Gross*, who was immediately bound to the Person of his Lord and his Heirs. The other, a *Villain regardant to a Manour*, that is, belonging and being annex'd to a *Manour*. There are not truly any *Villains* now, tho' the Law concerning them stands unrepeal'd. The Successors of the *Band-Men* or *Villains* are the *Copy-holders*, who tho' time has dealt favourably with them in other Respects, yet they still retain one Mark of their original Servitude. For as of old *Villains* were not reckon'd Members of the Commonwealth, but *Pars* and *Parcel* of their Owner's Substance, so were they therefore excluded from any Share in the *Legislature*, and their Successors still continue without any Right, to vote at *Elections*, by virtue of their *Copy-holds*.

** After Lands were appropriated and become *Estates of Inheritance*, Necessity oblig'd many People to devise Ways and Means from ministering

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for the Incouragement of *Arts*, and especially of *Trade* and *Commerce*, which was justly look'd upon as of very great advantage to the State. With a view to this it was also enacted by Law, that if a Merchant had cross'd the *Wide-Sea* three times, he shou'd be honour'd with the Title of *Thane*, and admitted to all the Privileges of that Order. I don't know what is meant here by the *Wide-Sea*, unless it be the *German Ocean*, since in those Days, *America* was not discover'd. Ever since the time of the *Saxons* *Merchants* have been in great Repute in *England*, since we frequently find such, as have distinguish'd themselves by their *Commerce*, have the Honour of *Knighthood* conferr'd upon them by the King.

Having now gone through the several Orders and Degrees of Men among the *Anglo-Saxons*, I shall in the next Place consider how they were govern'd, and principally, their Manner of *administ'ring Justice*. To this End 'twill be necessary to speak of the different *Courts* they erected in *England*, from whence we may see the Origin of the several *Courts of Justice* now establish'd in that Kingdom.

T H E C O U R T S o f J U S T I C E.

I Have already observ'd in the Life of *Alfred the Great*, that this Prince divided *England* into *Shires*, the *Shires* into *Tythings*, *Laths*, or *Wapentakes*, these again into *Hundreds*, and the *Hundreds* into *Tythings*. However it must not be imagin'd that in doing this, he introduc'd something

ministring to the Occasions, Ease and Pleasures of the Rich, to obtain by such Services a Maintenance to themselves. Hence arose the Invention and Incouragement of *Arts* and *Sciences*. This laid the Foundation of the many *Cities* or *Burroughs* which were form'd throughout *Europe*, which formerly in other Kingdoms as well as in *England* by being necessary and useful became considerable. *St. Amand.* p. 32.

thing entirely New to the *English*. He only settled the Bounds of the former Divisions, making some Alterations in them for Conveniency sake. At least, as to the cantoning the Kingdom into *Shires*, 'tis certain he only proportion'd them in a better Manner than had been done before. This is evident from there having been Earls of *Sommerſetſhire* and *Devonſhire* in the Reign of *Etheſwulph*, as *Aſſer* relates, who liv'd about that time. But *Alfred*, having united all *England* into one Monarchy, divided his whole Dominions more regularly and into a greater Number of Parts. The *Shires* contain'd a whole Province subject to the Jurisdiction of an *Earl* or *Count*, whence they were also call'd *Counties*. Some of these *Shires* being divided into *Tything*s, others into *Laths*, and others into *Wapentakes*, each of these Divisions, which are the same thing under different Names *, consisted of three or four *Hundreds* of Families, and Each *Hundred* was subdivided into *Tything*s. The *Courts of Justice* were form'd with respect to these several Divisions, that is, there was a Court for each *Tything*, *Hundred*, &c. to the End *Justice* might be administered with less Charge, greater Dispatch, and more Exactness.

The lowest of these *Courts* was the *Tything-Court*. It *The Tything-Court* consisted of ten Heads of Families, who were mutual ing *Court-Sureties* for one another, as each of them in particular was for all that were under him **. Every Person in the King-

dom

* The *Wapentakes* are the same as the *Hundreds*, and not as the *Laths* or *Tything*s, as Mr. *Rapin* seems to think here and elsewhere. This word is still in use North of the *Trent*.

** By *Ten Families* we are not to understand *Ten House-Keepers*, but *Ten Lords of Manours*, with all their *Vassals*, *Tenants*, *Labourers* and *Slaves*, who tho' they did not all live under their Lord's Roof were all counted part of his Family. As there were no little *Free-holders* in those early Times, nor for long after, ten such Families must occupy a large Space of Ground, and might well constitute a *rural Tything*. In like manner the *Town-Tything*s or *Burroughs* consisted not of *Ten Shopkeepers* or *Traders*, but of ten *Companies* or *Fraternities*, call'd in *Saxon*, *Guilds*: Perhaps some more eminent than the rest might employ great Numbers of *Artificers*, *Hirelings* or *Slaves*; and if we understand by *ten Families*, ten such, we may well

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town was registered in some *Tything*. None but Persons of the first Rank had the Privilege granted them of their single Family being made a *Tything*, for which they were responsible. Each *Tything* had a President, stil'd *Tything-Man*, or *Burgh-Holder*, who took care to hold a Court when occasion requir'd. The method of Proceeding was as follows.

If any Person, accus'd of some Crime, refus'd to appear, the other nine *Sureties* were bound to set him forth-coming to *Justice*. If the guilty Party ran away, he was not suffer'd to tarry in any other Town, *Burgh* or Village; because no one cou'd change Habitation, without a Testi-monial from his *Tything*, and in case he was admitt'd without one, they that received him were punish'd. By the Laws of King Edward, the *Tything* had thirty Days* allow'd them to search for the Criminal. If he was not to be found, the *Tything-Man*, taking with him two of his own *Tything* and nine of the three next *Tythings*, [that is, of each the chief *Tything-Man* and two others] these twelve purg'd themselves by Oath of the Offence and Flight of the Malefactor. If they refus'd to swear, the *Tything* the Offender belong'd to was oblig'd to make Satisfaction in his Stead.

This Court frequently met, as well to decide the Differences among the Members of the *Tything*, as to concert Measures against such, whose Behaviour created a Suspicion

well conceive they constituted *Towns* or *Burroughs*. Every *Tything* was as it were a little Republick which exercis'd a judicial Power within the Precincts of its own Territories, and differ'd from a *Shire* in nothing but extent of Ground and number of Inhabitants. For as the *Earl* presid'd in the general Assembly of every *County*, so there was one chosen annually out of the *Ten* to preside in the *Tything-Court*. These Presidents were call'd, *Sapienter*, and by the *Saxons*, *Witan*. After the *Conquest*, these presiding Officers were made for Life, for the sake of the *Normans*, who wou'd not otherwise be chosen, and instead of *Wites* were call'd *Barons*, and the *Ten Manours*, or *Tything* they presid'd over, an *Honour* or *Barony*. But the *Town Tythings* or *Burroughs* remain'd on their antient Foot, and chose their President Yearly. vide *St. Amand. Eff. on Legislat. Pow. of Eng.*

* One and Thirty Days.

on of their committing some Crime, for which the rest might be in Danger of incurring the Penalty. In this Case, the suspected Person was oblig'd to find particular Security for his good Behaviour; which if he cou'd not do he was confin'd. This Court was a Terror to People of mean Condition, as they were sure to be punish'd by it for any Offences they shou'd commit. Before this Court was erected, these Sort of People might easily shift their Quarters by reason of their obscurity, which prevented them from being taken Notice of. But 'twas impossible for them to change their Habitation, after once they were oblig'd to bring a *Testimonial* from their *Tything*, before they cou'd settle or be registred elsewhere.

These ten Heads of Families, of whom the *Tything* consisted, were call'd *Free-Burghs*, that is, *Free-Pledges*. *Burgh* signifying, *Surety* or *Pledge*. Hence the Word *Neighbour*, which originally means a *near Pledge*. In all appearance *Burman*, which signifies a *Neighbour* among the *Dutch*, is deriv'd from the same Source, I mean from the same Custom which was observ'd in *Germany* and had serv'd for a Model to King *Alfred*. We find in the *History of the Customs of China*, written in *Spanish* by *John Gonzalez de Mendoza* an *Augustin Monk*, that the like Custom is now in use in that Empire. The Conformity is so great between the Practice of the *Chinese* and the *Anglo-Saxons* with regard to these *Tythings* or *Reciprocal Pledges*, that one can't but wonder, how two Nations so remote from one another, and who never had the least Communication, shou'd agree so exactly in this Point.

The next Court was that of the *Hundred*. It was held *The Hundred* once a Month, and had for President one of the most Noted *Alderman* of the *Hundred*. The Bishop or Arch-deacon was oblig'd to sit with him, in order to determine, in Conjunction with the other Judges, all Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil relating to the *Hundred*.

The Third Court was that of the *Trytbings*, *Laths* or *Wapentakes*, according to the Name given these Divisions in the several *Counties*. Here were decided the Causes between private Persons, belonging to different *Hundreds*.

Hist. de les
Ritos y
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Lambard. of the same *Trything*, or *Lath*. Besides this Court, each Dugdale. *Thane* of the first Rank, or *Baron*, held one like it, wherein he determin'd the Controversies between his *Vassals*. From whence our present *Court-Baron* takes its Original.

The Shire-gemot or Folcmote. But when a Suit depended between Men residing in Different *Trythings*, it was transmitted to the *County-Court*, call'd in *Saxon*, *Shire-gemot* or *Folcmote*, which was held twice a Year, or oftner if Occasion. Herein presidèd the Bishop and the *Earl* or *Ealdorman*; but in the absence of the *Earl*, the *High-Sheriff*, or *Viscount* supplied his Place. In this Court were registered all the *Tythings* belonging to the *County*, with the Names of the Members. Ecclesiastical Causes were tried generally in the first Place; next those the King was concern'd in, and lastly such as related to private Persons. *William the Conqueror* dispense'd with the Bishops sitting in this Court, and granted them the Privilege of holding Courts of their own for the determining Ecclesiastical Matters. Appeals lay from the *Tything*, *Hundred*, or *Trything* Courts, to the *Shire-gemot*. Here also all Persons of what Rank soever were to take the Oath of Allegiance to the King.

The King's Court. How great soever the Power of this Court was, there was one above it, which they call'd the *King's Court*, because the King himself presidèd here in Person, or in his Absence, the *High-Chancellor*. In this Court were examined the false Judgments of the inferior Courts; and here it was apparently, that *Alfred* condemn'd to Death the four and forty Judges, as has been related in his Life. From this Court the *Common-Pleas* and *King's-Bench* derive their Original.

The Witten-Gen-mot. I come now to the *Great Court* or *Assembly-General* of the Kingdom, call'd in *Saxon*, *Witten-Gemot* or *Mycel Synod*. As there are great Disputes about the *Existence*, *Origin*, *Nature*, and *Authority* of this *Assembly-General*, 'twill be proper in this Place, to lay down the several Opinions concerning these Matters, with the Reasons and Answers of such as maintain the contrary. For my Part, as I am wholly unconcern'd in all the Questions relating to this Subject, I shall content my self with stating fairly and impartially

partially the Reasons alledg'd on both Sides. To proceed regularly, I shall divide the whole into four Heads, which will comprise all that has been said of Moment on this Point. *1st.* The Origin of the *Witten-a-Gemot.* *2dly.* Who were the Members of this Great Council. *3dly.* Their Authority, and the Affairs they debated. *4thly.* Their Power in Ecclesiastical Matters.

I. *The ORIGIN of the WITTENA-GEMOT.*

THESE are some, who are of Opinion ^{I. Opinion} that the *Witten-a-Gemot* or *Parliament*, is of a later Date in ^{that the} *England* than the *Royal Power*, and that it owes its Origin ^{the Concession of our Kings.} to the gracious Condescensions of the Kings. They affirm that the Sovereign's having been pleas'd to summon, from Time to Time, the chief Men of the Nation, to consult with them about important Affairs, this at last was turn'd into a Custom: That in Proces of Time, the People taking the Opportunity of some favourable Junctures, claim'd as their Privilege, the Right of having a *Parliament*, tho' at first it depended entirely on the King's Pleasure, whether he wou'd consult it or not. The main Reason they ground this their Assertion upon, is, that till *Edward the Confessor*, *England* was hardly ever, or but for a very little while together, united into one State. During the *Heptarchy*, it was divided into several Kingdoms, which made so many distin& States. Of these Kingdoms, *Ecbert* united but Four, whilst the other Three remain'd separate. Afterwards the *Danes* became Masters of *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, and shar'd the Lands amongst Them. So that from the *Saxon* Conquest to the second *Danish Invasion*, we don't find *England* was united into one Body, but only during the short Reigns of *Edwy*, *Edgar* and *Edward the Martyr*. However the

Government did not continue long in this Posture. The *Danes* renewing their Ravages in the Reign of *Ethelred II*, *England* was quickly divided into two Parts, whereof One was subject to the *Danes*, the other to the *English*. 'Tis true indeed, after the Death of *Edmund Ironside*, the Kingdom was united again under *Canute the Great*, but this Union ended with his Reign, and the Kingdom was once more canton'd among his Sons. In fine, they maintain, that *England* was never thoroughly united into one Kingdom till the Time of *Edward the Confessor*. They moreover make appear from the several Sorts of Laws, namely, the *West-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Danish*, that this pretended *Heptarchical* Government is all a *Chimara*, and consequently the *Present Parliament* cannot take its Rise from an *Assembly-General* of *England*, which never had a Being during the Dominion of the *Saxon Kings*.

In Answer to This, 'tis said, that they who talk after this Manner confound two Things which ought carefully to be distinguish'd, namely, the *Witten-a-Gemot* or *Parliament* of each of the Kingdoms in particular, and That of the seven Kingdoms taken together as making but one Body and one State. Tho' this last had never existed, yet might the *Present Parliament* for all that derive its Original from the Other. On Supposition that each Kingdom had its own *Witten-a-Gemot*, it happen'd that Those of *Sussex* and *Wessex* became one and the same, when these two Kingdoms were united under *Ina*. Afterwards when *Ecbert* had annex'd to his Dominions *Kent* and *Essex*, the four Kingdoms of *Wessex*, *Sussex*, *Kent* and *Essex*, made but one State, and consequently had but one Parliament. In Proportion as this Kingdom was enlarg'd by the Conquests of *Alfred the Great*, *Edward* and *Ethelstan*, the *Witten-a-Gemot* increas'd in its Members, and at length took in all *England* in the Reigns of *Edwy*, *Edgar*, and *Edward the Martyr*. The Truth is, in the Reign of *Ethelred II*, the Wars with the *Danes* broke in upon this Regulation, and *England* was divided into two Parts. But under *Canute the Great* the Kingdom was once more united, and consequently there was but one *Witten-a-Gemot*, which was again divided,

vided into Two, tho' but for a very little while, under *Harold* and *Hardicanute*. In fine, after *Harold*, by the Interest of Earl *Goodwin*, was put in Possession of the Kingdom of *Wessex*, there was but one *Witten-a-Gemot* in all *England* till the *Norman Conquest*.

To prove therefore that the present *Parliament* derives not its Origin from the *Witten-a-Gemot* of the *Saxons*, either the Time must be assign'd when Parliaments first began after the *Conquest*, or it must be denied that there was ever any such Thing as a *Witten-a-Gemot* in each of the seven Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*. The former of These is hardly possible, unless we take up with bare Conjectures instead of solid Arguments. As for the latter, the Assertors of the Antiquity of *Parliament's* produce against such as deny the Being of the *Saxon Witten-a-Gemot*, several Proofs, which they look upon as demonstrative. The first is taken from the Title of the Laws of *Ina*, King of *Wessex*, wherein are these Words: *I Ina, by the Grace of God, King of the West-Saxons, with the Advice of Cenred my Father, Hedda my Bishop, with all my Ealdormans, Seniors, and wise Men of my Nation, willing to establish good Order in the State, have ordain'd, &c.* Hence 'tis plain, that *Ina* in making his Laws had the Advice of the *Assembly-General* of *Wessex*. That the same Method was establish'd in *Mercia*, is evident from *Bertulph's Charter* to the *Abby of Croyland*, wherein are these Words, *with the unanimous Consent of the present Council assembled at Kingsbury to debate on the Affairs of the Nation.*

*Proofs for
a Witte-
na Gemot
in each
Kingdom.*

In this *Charter*, after the *Bishops* and *Lords* had set their Hands, the King subscrib'd in this Manner: *I Bertulph, in the Presence of all the Bishops and Great Men of my Kingdom.* This is a clear Evidence that the *Charter* was grant-ed in the *Assembly-General* or *Witten-a-Gemot* of *Mercia*. The same might be made appear, with regard to each of the other Kingdoms: but, as they affirm, the Case is so evident, as not to admit of any Dispute.

They pretend further to prove, that there was a General *Witten-a-Gemot* of the seven Kingdoms, from the very Name of *Heptarchy*, which implies that the seven King-dom

*The Proof:
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doms had some thing in Common, and consequently that there was an Assembly, wherein their common Affairs were debated. For Instance, how cou'd They elect their *Monarchs* or *Generals*, unless there had been an Assembly of the whole seven Kingdoms? But they alledge more direct Proofs of this Matter. Several Historians assure us, there was a general Assembly held in *Glocestershire*, wherein *Ina* King of the *West-Saxons* was chosen Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, by the Interest of *Sebba* King of *Essex*, who was present there with all the other Kings. They produce also from *Ingulphus*, *Witglaph* King of *Mercia's Charter*, where you have these Words: *In the Presence of Ecbert, King of the West-Saxons, of Ethelwulph his Son, and of the Bishops and great Lords of England, assembled at London.* Hence 'tis plain, that this Assembly conven'd at *London*, and consisting of all the Bishops and great Men of *England*, was a general *Wittena-Gemot* of the Nation.

The Answer to the Objection from the Diversity of the Laws.

In Answer to the Objection taken from the Diversity of the Laws then in *England*, 'tis said, that it is not at all strange, that *Mercia* and *Wessex*, being two distinct States, shou'd have different Laws; much less, that the *Danes* shou'd establish their own Laws in their Conquests. But 'tis affirm'd, one can't reasonably infer from this Diversity, that there was no such Thing as a *Wittena-Gemot* in each Kingdom, or a general One for all the Seven. This Consequence wou'd be as absurd, as if a Man, from the different Laws and Customs in the *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries*, shou'd conclude there was neither a Convention of the States in each Province, nor an Assembly of the States-General.

As a Confirmation of these Proofs, they alledge moreover the Conformity in this Respect between *England* and the other *European* Kingdoms. The *Saxons* had the like Assemblies in *Germany*; the *Ostrogoths*, and after them the *Lombards* in *Italy*: The *Frances* had their *Field of Mars* or of *May*, their *Sanes*, their *Parliaments*, and the *Spaniards*, their *Cortez*.

This Conformity plainly shows, there was no other Form of Government then in *Europe*. 'Tis further added, that

in

in order to assert upon good Grounds, that these *Assemblies* are not as antient as Kingly Power, it must be made appear, who were the Sovereigns that first establish'd them in each Kingdom. But how came it to pass, that all the Kings in Europe shou'd agree together at the same time, to become so very gracious and condescending to their Subjects? There is doubtless more reason to suppose they wou'd have all join'd in abolishing, rather than in granting, a Privilege of this Nature.

II. *The Constituent Parts or Members of the WITTENA-GEMOT.*

ALL agree that the *greater Nobility* were Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*. By the *greater Nobility* I mean the *Ealdormans*, and *Thanes* of the first Rank, who were afterwards stil'd, *Earls* and *Barons*. But the Difficulty is to know, whether the *Thanes* of the second and third Clas, and the *Ceorles*, of whom the *House of Commons* at present consists, had a Right to sit there by their *Representatives*, or not. Tho' this Inquiry seems to be of little Moment, at a time when the *Commons* incontestably enjoy this Privilege, yet is it not entirely needless to know, whether they usurp'd it, whether it was given them by the Concessions of the Kings, or whether it is of the same standing with the Royal Power. How much soever the Right of the *Commons* in this Respect is at present out of Dispute, there are some who are perswaded 'twou'd be of dangerous Consequence to acknowledge they had it from the Condescension of the Sovereigns, lefft the same Power that is suppos'd to have granted it, shou'd think of revoking it when a favourable Opportunity offer'd (a). And indeed this is the true Motive

(a). This is what happen'd in the Reign of King *James I*; this Prince having often given the *Commons* to understand, that he thought it in his Power to revoke their Privileges, which in his Opinion had no other Foundation than the Concessions of his Predecessors.

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tive of all the Attempts that are made to prove that the *Commons* have not been all along in possession of this Privilege. 'Tis but too apparent that this Question has been started only to gratify such of the Kings as have endeavour'd to stretch the *Royal Prerogative* beyond its due Bounds.

First Argument against the Commons.

Be this as it will, they who maintain that the *Commons* had no Right to sit in the *Witten-Gemot* in the time of the Saxon Kings, alledge for their first Reason, that the *Under-Thanes* and *Ceorles* were not *Proprietors* of Lands. From whence they infer, that 'twou'd have been to no Purpose for the *Commons* to have a Place in these *Councils*, whose only Business was to regulate the Affairs of a Country which properly belong'd to the King and the Nobility. They add, 'tis incredible that the *Nobles* of the first Rank shou'd agree to make their *Vassals* their Companions: That since in the Distribution of their Lands, they were at liberty to give them on what Conditions they thought fit, 'tis not at all probable, they shou'd place the *Tenants* in the same Rank with the *Lords*. To render this Opinion still more probable, they say further, 'Tis not to be imagin'd, that in those Days, the *People* were upon the same Foot as at present; That altho' they were Free, their Freedom was confin'd within Narrow Bounds; That the Superiority of the *Nobles* over them was vastly greater than at this Day, and for that reason the *People* were scarce consider'd at all: They serv'd in the Wars for Foot-Soldiers, who were look'd upon as Servants. Accordingly they had the Name of *Knechien* [that is, *Servants*] given them.

Answer to the 1st. Argument.

To this the Assertors of the Rights of the *Commons* reply, That since the *Nobles*, who held their Lands of the King, had a Right to a Place in the *Witten-Gemot*, the *Commons*, who held their Lands of the *Nobles*, might very well have the same Privilege also. The Reason alledg'd in the Objection not holding good against the *Lords*, ought not to be of any more Force against the *Commons*. They add, that the main Business of the *General-Council* was the making Laws as well for the *People* as for the *Nobility*; the Settling the Rights of the Subjects, the Preserving Peace in the State, and the Raising Taxes, whereof the *People*

People paid the greatest share. Hence they infer, that 'twas very natural, and extremely consonant to the Custom of the *Saxons*, that the *People* shou'd give their Consent to all these things, wherein they were no less concern'd than the *Nobles*. They say further, that if the *People* assisted not in the Debates of the *Great Council*, 'tis not to be conceiv'd, whence shou'd proceed the great Care of securing their Rights and Liberties, and of preventing their being oppres'd by the *Grandees*. 'Tis well known that Men, especially the *Great*, are not wont to labour so heartily to lessen their Power, but much rather to exert their utmost to increase their Authority.

But as this Point, which is a Matter of Fact and not of Right, is not to be determin'd by bare Reasonings, both Parties endeavour to support their Opinions by more suitable Proofs, namely, by Authorities. To this End they pretend to make good their respective Assertions from certain Terms made use of in the *Charters* of the *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, and from certain Expressions in the Historians who speak of the Government in those Days. 'Twill be necessary therefore to produce some of these Proofs, that the Reader may the better understand the Point in Question, and be enabled to pass a Judgment on the Reasons alledg'd by both Sides. I shall begin with what is urg'd against the *Commons*, or their *Representatives*, being Members of the *General Assembly*.

In the first Place 'tis said, that the very Name of *Witan-Gemot* plainly proves that the *Great Council* consisted only of such as were stil'd *Witan*. Now 'tis affirm'd that the precise Meaning of that Word is, *Majores Nati, Seniores, Ealdormen*, by which are understood, the *Earls* and *Barons*, or in the Language of the *Saxons*, the *Ealdormen*, and *King's Thanes, Ecclesiasticks and Laics*. To make this appear, a Passage is cited out of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* as translated by King *Alfred*. *Bede* says, that King *Oswald* applied to the *Majores Nati* of *Scotland* for a Bishop; and *Alfred* has render'd the Terms *Majores Nati* by *Ealdor-men*. The same Historian saying in the same Place, that *Oswald* made use of *Snis Ducibus & Ministris* for Interpreters, *Bede, l.3.*

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preters, *Alfred* has translated these Words by, his *Ealdorman* and *Thanes*. Hence they wou'd infer that the Term *Wittan* is to be understood only of *Ealdormen* and *Barons*, or in general, of the *Chief Men* of the Nation. And accordingly conclude, that the *Witten-a-Gemot*, or *Assembly of Wise-Men*, consisted only of such. They further confirm this their Explanation of the Word *Wittan* by the Historians rendering it in *Latin* by, *Principes, Optimates, Proceres, Magnates, Duces, Comites, Prepositi, Ministri Regis, Nobiles, Milites*, which can by no means be understood of the *People*, or their *Representatives*.

Answer to this Proof. They who are of the contrary Opinion, alledge, in their Turn, the same Authorities to prove the *Greater Nobility* was not alone summon'd to the *National Council*. They pretend that these very Expressions, on which their Adversaries ground their Opinion, are not to be so restrain'd to the *Nobility*, as not to be also applicable to the *Magistrates* and *Chief Men* among the *People*. To make good what they advance, they cite numberles Passages from the *Latin Authors*, wherein the Words *Principes, Nobiles, Milites*, are to be taken in their Sense.

Reply of the First. To this the Others reply, that the Word, *People*, may be understood in two different Senses; first as it signifies a Nation in general, in which Sense they own that by *Magnates, Proceres, Nobiles, &c.* may be meant the *Chief Men* of the *People*, or of the whole Nation. The other Sense of the Word, *People*, is more restrain'd and signifies only a Part of the *People*, as separate or different from the *Nobility*, as when one says, the *Nobles and People*. This is the meaning they contend for, and to which it must be prov'd that the cited Passages can be applied. Now this is what they look upon as impossible, affirming there is no such thing to be met with in the *Latin Authors* as, *Optimates Plebis*, but always, *Populi*; that is, of the *People* in general. But tho' it were true, that these Expressions did sometimes denote the *Chief Men* among the *People*, as distinguish'd from the *Nobility*, yet 'twou'd still remain to prove, that, in the alledg'd Passages, the word, *People*, must be taken in that Sense,

unless

unless they wou'd take for granted the very thing in dispute.

But to This the Assertors of the Rights of the *Commons* answer, That they readily agree, these Expressions are principally to be understood of *Noble Persons*; but affirm withal, their Meaning is not to be confin'd to the *Nobles* of the first Rank. They say, that altho' in *England*, the *Greater Nobility*, or *Peers of the Realm*, are a distinct Order from the *Lesser*, who are reckon'd among the *Commons*, it does not follow that the *Latin* Expressions are to be explain'd by a Distinction no where else to be met with. For Instance, in *France*, the lowest *Gentilhomme* belongs as much to the Nobility, as the highest Lord, the *Greater* and *Lesser* Nobility making but one and the same Body.

One is concern'd to see an Inquiry of this Nature reduc'd to a Grammatical Dispute. But as I have undertaken to lay down the Arguments made use of on both Sides, I thought my self obliged not to omit the foregoing Ones taken from the Meaning of certain Terms. However it seems to me, that in what hath hitherto been said, one Side plainly proves that the *Great Lords* had a Right to sit in the *Wittena-Gemot*, the which no Body ever denied. But I can't say, it necessarily follows from what they alledge, that the *Commons* were excluded, which was the Point in Question. On the other hand, what the other Side urges, tends rather to prove that the Reasons for the Exclusion of the *Commons* are not satisfactory, than to make appear directly that they had a place in the *Wittena-Gemot*. Let us therefore proceed to another Sort of Arguments, which are alledg'd in Favour of the *Commons*.

The first is taken from *Henry of Huntingdon* the Historian, who, speaking of the deposing of *Sigebert King of Wessex*, has these Words: *King Sigebert growing incorrigible, the Great Men and People of Wessex assembled together in the Beginning of the Second Year of his Reign, and depos'd him with unanimous Consent.* They pretend that in this Passage, the People being put in Opposition with the Great Men,

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Men, can mean none but the *Commons*, and consequently they gave their *Votes* in the *General Assembly*.

This Explanation is supported by a Passage out of another Historian, who says; *In the Reign of Edward the Elder, were assembled the Bishops, Abbots, the faithful Subjects or Vassals, the Great Men and the People, in the Kingdom of Wessex.* 'Tis affirm'd, that by the *Fideles* or *Faithful Subjects*, which may be explain'd by *Vassals* or *Liege-Men*, are to be understood the *People*, as distinct from the *Nobles*, since in this Place the *Fideles* and the *People* are actually distinguish'd from the *Great Men*.

To these Authorities they add another from *Ethelwulph's Charter of Tythes*, where it is said, *These Things were granted by the King, Barons and People.*

All these Proofs are confirm'd by two *Charters*, the First whereof is that of King *Ethelred*, in Favour of the Abbey of *Wolverhampton*, which concludes with these Words: *These are the Decrees of Sigeric Archbishop of Canterbury, in the Court held before King Ethelred, the Archbishop of York, the Bishops, Abbots, Senators, the Chiefs and People of the whole Country.*

The other, granted by *Edward the Confessor* to the Abbey of *Westminster*, runs thus; *I have order'd therefore this Charter of my Donation to be read on the Day of the Dedication of the said Church, in the Presence of the Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Great Men of England, and in the Sight and Hearing of all the People.*

Answer against the Commons.

But the Opposers of the *Commons* pretend to invalidate the Force of all Arguments drawn from Passages of Historians and Charters, several Ways. In the first Place they observe that the greatest Part of these Historians liv'd, when the *Commons* sat in *Parliament*, and therefore 'tis no wonder when they speak of the *Anglo-Saxon Affairs*, they shou'd represent Things as they were in their own Times. In the second Place, they say, that nothing can be inferr'd from any Expressions in these *Charters*, because they were not originally writ in *Latin* but in *Saxon*. Consequently the *Latin* Quotations from thence are only Translations, the Faithfulness whereof can't be judg'd of, without confronting

ing them with their *Originals*, which 'tis impossible to do, seeing they are all lost. For Instance, 'tis certain that the *Saxons* never made use of the Term, *Baron*, which was brought in by the *Normans*, and yet we find it in the abovemention'd *Charters*. In the third Place, they farther say, that some of the Passages alledg'd only make it appear, that the Determinations of the *Wittena-Gemot* were transacted in the Sight of the People, who perhaps show'd they were pleas'd with what was done by their Shouts and Acclamations. But they affirm this is no Proof that the *People* gave their *Votes*, or that their Consent was necessary, 'since they stood by only as *Witnesses*. This manifestly appears, say They, from the aforesaid *Charter of Ethelwulph*, which runs thus: *There were present the Archbishops, and Bishops of England, Buthred King of Mercia, Edmund King of East-Anglia, and abundance of Abbots, Abbeses, Dukes, Earls, and Great Men of the whole Kingdom, and of other Faithful Subjects, a great Multitude, who all approv'd of this Royal Act, to which the dignified Persons subscrib'd their Names.* They pretend that since the *Great Men* only sign'd the *Charter*, their Approbation alone was necessary. Besides, what can be the Meaning of *a great Multitude of Faithful Subjects*? Was it the whole Body of the *People*? This They won't say, who maintain that the *Commons* sat in the *Wittena-Gemot* by their *Representatives*, as they do at this day. And indeed, this *great Multitude* can't well be applied to a limited Number of *Representatives*, but may very aptly be us'd to denote *Crowds of People*, got together to shout and make Acclamations. In fine, 'tis remark'd that in all the forecited Passages, a forc'd Meaning is given to the Term, *Fideles*, when made to stand for the *Representatives* of the *Commons*, since that Word is applicable to all Subjects in General, as well to the Body of the *Nobles* as of the *People*.

To come therefore to more direct Proofs, the Favourers of the *Commons* alledge other Passages, wherein they pretend the Meaning of these Terms is fix'd to the *Representatives* Another Argument for the Com- *of mons.*

A DISSERTATION on the

of the People, by the Word, *Procuratores*. In a *Charter* * dated 811 it is said, that *Cenulph King of Mercia* assembled in order to dedicate the Monastery of *Winchelcomb*, the great Men of the Kingdom, the Bishops, *Procuratores*, &c.

Answer.

To this it is answer'd, That this was only a Dedication of a Church and Monastery, in order to which *Cenulph* had call'd together abundance of People, and particularly such as were distinguish'd by their Birth or Offices. But supposing it to have been a real *Wittena-Gemot*, the Term, *Procuratores*, is too undeterminate to denote the *Representatives* of the *Commons*, unless it be join'd with soime other Word that fixes its Signification.

*Reply for
the Com-
mons.*

In order to This, a *Charter* is produc'd by the other Side, wherein they maintain that the Term, *Procuratores*, must be understood of the *Representatives* of the People. This *Charter* granted by King *Athelstan* **, concludes thus: *Granted at the Royal Vill AEtwelope, in the Presence of the Bishops, Abbots, Dukes, Earls, and Patriæ Procuratoribus.* Now, say they, who can these *Patriæ Procuratores* be, but the *Representatives* of the People? But they who are of the contrary Opinion, say, this is only a bare Conjecture, which can be of no Force, unless it be made appear that it was a common Expression at that Time.

*The An-
swer.*
*The last
Argument
for the
Com-
mons.*

Lastly, 'Tis alledg'd in Favour of the *Commons* (which is a stronger Argument than any of the foregoing Ones) that there are now several *Hamlets* **, which send *Representatives* to Parliament, a Right they must needs have had in the Time of the *Saxon Kings*, when they were *Cities* or *Burroughs* of Note: Since 'tis very improbable they shou'd have this Privilege granted them after they were become so mean and despicable.

To

* In the *Annals of Winchelcomb* in the *Cottonian Library*.

** To the Abbey of *Abington* in 931. which Charter is entred in the great Register that belong'd to that Abbey, and is now in the *Cottonian Library*.

** Of which Sort are *Gatton* in *Surrey*, and several Burroughs in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* and other Counties.

To evade the Force of this Argument 'tis replied, that it is nothing worth, unless it be prov'd that these *Burroughs*, now become *Hamlets*, were gone to decay before the *Conquest*. They add likewise, that This wou'd not be sufficient, seeing 'tis very possible they might have been rebuilt and destroy'd again during the Civil Wars *England* was so often troubled with, after the *Commons* were in Possession of the Right of sending *Representatives* to Parliament.

To all these Arguments alledg'd in Behalf of the *Commons*, 'tis added in their Favour, that in all the other States in *Europe*, the People had a Share in the *general Assemblies*. Tho' I have hitherto done no more than barely laid down the Reasons urg'd on both Sides, I can't forbear observing of this Last, however without any Design of weakening the Rest, that it is alledg'd without any Grounds. The which I shall make appear, at least with regard to *France*, by the Authority of three Writers, who are look'd upon as throughly vers'd in the Customs of that Kingdom.

The first is *Mezeray*, who discoursing of this Subject, has these Words, *I meet with three Sorts of Assemblies in those Days; The General Courts of the Provinces; the Champs de Mai, at which were present the Seniores and Majores Natu of the People, where Military Affairs were tury: Abstratt, &c. of the Customs of VIII Cen-*

chieftly debated; and the Conventus, Colloquia, Parliaments, where the Bishops, Abbots and other Great Men met to make Laws and regulate Matters relating to the Administration of Justice, the Civil Government, and the Publick Revenues, &c. These two last Assemblies were confounded one with another. In the Opinion then of this Historian, none but the great Men were Members of the Parliaments. But since, it may be objected that by the *Seniores* and *Majores Natu* that were present at the *Champs de Mai*, are to be understood the *Representatives* of the People, let us see what President *Fauchet* says upon this Head.

This learned Historian mentions a certain Speech that *Fauchet's* was shown him as made by *Boniface* *Archbishop of Mayence*, wherein that Prelate told *Pepin*, that the *Gauls*, *on antiquities of France, L. vi.*

A DISSERTATION on the

um Ordinum, of all Orders and Degrees, had given him the Crown. This Harangue, says that Author, is most certainly a Forgery. First, because the Francs never call'd themselves Gauls. Secondly and principally, because of the Words, omnium Ordinum; for at that time they never talk'd either of Orders or Degrees, none but Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Nobles having a Place in the General Courts or Parliaments, and the Earls, Commissioners or Delegates, laid before the Assembly the Complaints of the People in their respective Territories.

Pasquier,
Recher-
ches, &c.
l.2.c.7.

Pasquier, the third Writer, whose Authority I wou'd alledge, expresses himself still more plainly and fully in this Matter. His Words are these : Altho' some, who pretend to be well vers'd in the History of France, are of opinion that the Assembly of the States-General is of a very long standing, and found the Liberties of the People upon it, yet is neither the one nor the other, true. I am sensible, and ready to own, that formerly in Gaul, and before the Conquest of Julius Cæsar, there were General Assemblies, which were continued by him under a Pretence, familiar to the Romans, of leaving us in the Possession of our antient Rights and Liberties. But in all these Assemblies you'll find none of the Common People, whom they look'd upon but as so many Cyphers. In like manner, you'll meet with, under the first and Second Families of our Kings, solemn Conventions which they call'd Parliaments, the Principal Sinews of our Monarchy. But to these were summon'd only the Princes, Great Lords, Nobles and Dignified Churchmen. Now in our Assemblies of the three Estates, not only the Common People have a Place with the Clergy and Nobility, but what is more, make the greatest and best Part. Whence is it then that within some Centuries of Years the Commons have had a Right to sit in our Conventions, wherein are debated the Affairs relating to the Good of the Nation in general ? This is what I shall account for. After this he proceeds to lay down the Reasons of the Common People being first call'd to their Parliaments, and fixes the Original of it to the Time of Philip le Bel, who began his Reign in 1286. These are the Testimonies of three Writers of great Judgment, and thoroughly vers'd in the

the History of *France*. So far therefore are we from being able to alledge in favour of the *Commons of England*, what was formerly practis'd in *France*, that, on the contrary, this Precedent makes entirely against their Right.

After having seen the Arguments made use of *For* and *Against* the Antiquity of the *Commons Right* to sit in *Parliament*, one can't but be surpris'd that both Sides shou'd be forc'd to argue from bare Conjectures, and the Meaning of certain Terms in the Translations of the *Charters*. One wou'd think that in a Matter of this Nature each Side shou'd produce Arguments that had a little more Solidity in them. However this be, the Reader may now judge of this Matter from what has been said, wherein I don't know that I have omitted any thing of Moment, of what has been alledg'd *Pro* and *Con*, tho' I have done it in a very compendious Manner.

But as the greatest Part of the Arguments, in the present Dispute, are taken from the *Charters* of the *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, I shall make one Remark, which ought to be consider'd before one passes Sentence: And that is, that the Authority of all these *Charters* is call'd in Question by such as are most vers'd in the *English History*. The Reason they give for it, is, that in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, the use of *Charters* was unknown in *England*. When the King made a Grant of any thing to the *Church*, or to any private Person, he put them in possession by delivering into their Hand a *Green Turf*, *Bough*, or the like. *For* merly, says Ingulphus, *Possession of Lands was given by bare Words without any Charters or other Writings. They only deliver'd to the Donee or Purchaser, a Helmet, Sword, Horn, Cup, sometimes a Spur, Bow, Arrow, &c.* From this Custom they infer that the *Charters*, alledg'd as granted by the *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, were all forg'd long after their time. But as it might seem strange, that there shou'd be now in being so many *Charters* bearing Date before there was any such thing in use, they advance a Matter of Fact, which, if true, lets us in to the Reason of such Numbers being forg'd. They assur us, that *William the Conqueror* finding that great Part of the *Crown-Lands* was alienated,

*Remark on
this Dis-
pute.*

*Observa-
tion concern-
ing the
Charters.*

*History of
Croyland.*

A DISSERTATION on the

particularly to the Monasteries, summon'd the Abbots to appear at his Court, and produce the *Title* by which they held their Estates. Some of them who had nothing to Plead but a long Possession, being outed of their Lands, because the King wou'd allow no *Title* good, but what was in Form, abundance of Monks set about forging *Charters*, to which they gave all the Marks of Truth they cou'd. Some produc'd them in *Latin*, but these were rejected, on account of the little Probability there was that the *Saxon* Kings shou'd make use of a Language, little understood and still much less us'd in their Time. But whether this be true or not, 'tis however certain, that several of those *Charters*, which some wou'd put off for *Authentick*, were forg'd, and that long after the *Date* they bear. At least 'twou'd be a very difficult Matter to make appear, that those, from whence the Arguments, to decide the present Dispute are taken, were made in the Time of the *Anglo-Saxons*.

From all that has been said, it appears that this is a very intricate Case; and there is no likelihood of its being ever set in a clearer Light. Almost all the *antient Monuments*, whereby the Difficulties in this Matter might be unravell'd, were buried in the Ruins of the Monasteries, either before, or after the *Norman Conquest* *.

III. The

* As there are no *Saxon* Monuments older than the Establishment of Christianity, and but little Light to be had from those that are after, Recourse must be had to Inference from those few Truths that are known, in order to discover who were the Members of the *Saxon Legislature*. Now the most probable *Hypothesis* seems to be this. Power results from and is the Natural Consequence of, *Property* or *Estates*, and in all Places where Tyranny does not prevail, the Persons who compose the *Legislature*, derive that Power from the Interest they have in some Lands, or else from some Distinction of *Rank* and *Order*, which discriminate the Members of a Society. As therefore our *Saxon* Ancestors in their own Country, did all personally meet for the Enacting Laws; so after their coming into *England* all to whom the Land was apportion'd personally assisted in the *Saxon Parliaments*, which were held at first during the *Heparchy* in open Places capable of receiving all that had a Right to be there, because there were no *Minute Freeholders* in those early Days. By the *Feudal Law* all *Landholders* were oblig'd to attend at the *Feudal Courts*, and had a Right to give their Assent or Dissent to any Laws

Laws or Orders there propos'd; Whence we yet retain the Expression of, the *Convention of the Estates*. After the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, when the Exercise of the *Legislative Power* in the Person of every Individual became impracticable by reason of their Remoteness and Number, some Change in the outward Form was necessary in order to preserve the Common-wealth on the same Principles 'twas at first establish'd; and as the whole Kingdom was divided into so many little Republicks or *Tythings*, some Person out of every *Tything* or *Burrough* came to the *Wittena-Gemot* to take care of the Concerns of the Society he belong'd to: These were call'd *Witen* or *Wise-men*, and were no other than the Presiding Judge or *Gerfa* of every *Tything*, who was annually chosen, both in the *Rural* and *Town Tythings*. As therefore the *Earls*, *Bishops* and *Abbots* (who were the presiding Judges in the Communities both Ecclesiastical and Civil, that the People were originally divided into) were undoubtedly Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*, so it is reasonable to think that the *Witan* (who were the presiding Judges in the lesser Communities that were afterwards made) were so too. For 'twas but natural when every Individual cou'd not appear in Person, that the Delegate or Representative of each Community shou'd be the Person, to whom they had by their own free Choice given the Precedency amongst themselves. Hence 'tis plain that the *Commons* or *Landholders* were ever a Part of the *Legislature*; because tho' the Earls perhaps might not be Elective or annual Officers, after the Dissolution of the *Heptarchy*, as they were before, yet the *Graves* of the *Tythings*, who were elective, being Members of the *Saxon Wittena-Gemot*, the *Commons* remain'd a Constituent Part of the *Saxon Legislature*. Hence the *Ceorls* (who were the same as our Farmers, only paying their Rent in Corn, Hay, &c. instead of Money) and also the *Thanes* (who had Lands assign'd them by the King or Great Men in recompence for their Service, and in lieu of Wages, and consequently were no more than Part of the Family of him they had their Lands of) were not Members of the *Wittena-Gemot*, except such *Thanes* who held their Lands of the Crown for their Service which related to the Publick. (See Note p. 156.) A *Wittena-Gemot* then was no other than an Assembly of all the Presiding Judges of the Nation, Earls, Bishops, and Wites, or the annual Magistrates of the *Tythings* and *Burroughs*, who represented all the Proprietors of Land in their respective *Tythings*. Thus Matters stood till the Conquest. King *William I.* having assum'd the Regal State as his own by Right, treated all that had oppos'd him as Rebels, and dispossessing them of their Lands, distributed them amongst his own Confederates, who held them of the Crown by the Service of a determin'd Number of Soldiers, in Case of an Invasion or a Rebellion, and they enfeoffed their own immediate Followers with some Portions of what was assign'd to them, under reservation of such Service. These Lands were call'd *Knight's Fees*, (Each Fee was about 20*l.* a Year then, which is equal to 4 or 500 now). As the *Normans* were much inferior to the *English* in Numbers, their

A DISSERTATION on the

Business was to secure all the Power they cou'd in their own Hands. Accordingly over most of the Tythings was plac'd a *Norman* Chief, whose Power was to be the same as the *Saxon Gerufa*, with this Difference, that it was to be *Hereditary*. These Chiefs were call'd *Barons*, and their Estates *Baronies* or *Honours*. The Conqueror to undermine the Power of the *Saxon Earls*, which he cou'd not safely destroy, dismember'd the Barons Estates in a manner from the Countries, and made them recognize no Superior but the Crown. By which means there was no difference between an Earl and a Baron, but only in Extent, the Power of both (which was exceeding Great) being the same over their Vassals. As for the *Burroughs* they were left in the same Condition as in the *Saxon Times*, and govern'd by annual Magistrates of their own chusing. The Conformity then between the *Saxon Witten-Gemot* and *Norman Parliament* stood thus. The *Ecclesiasticks* and *Earls* were the same in both; the *Burroughs* were represented in both by one of their own chusing, who was stil'd *Burgess* instead of *Wite*, probably because the Magistrate was not always chosen Representative; and as the *Saxon Wites* or presiding Judges of the *Tythings* were Members of the Legislature, so were the *Norman* Chiefs or *Barons*, with this Difference only, that as the first had their Right by Election and for a Time, the Others had theirs in Succession. And as the *Saxon Wites* serv'd for there *Tythings*, so the *Barons* were intended by Law to serve for the Tenants of their Baronies, which is the Reason why they were exempted from contributing to the Wages of the Knights of the Shire. Thus every Spot of Land was still represented; for as every Part was within some *Tything*, in the *Saxon Time*, so in the *Norman*, every Part of the whole Kingdom was within some *Barony* or some *Burrough*. Things continued upon this solid Foundation during the Reign of *William Rufus* and *Henry I.* But the *Barons*, who were so many petty Princes, being divided in the Civil War betwixt *Stephen*, *Maud* and *Henry II.* Each Party treated those of the other Side as Rebels, which brought the Possession of much Land to the contending Princes. And as each Side had experienc'd the Power of the Barons over their Vassals, and having besides many Friends to renumerate, they split the *Baronies* into smaller *Tenancies in Chief*, who all held immediately of the Crown. Hence arose the Distinction of *Fees of the old Forfeitures* and *Fees of the New*, and also of the *Greater* and *Lesser Barons*.¹ By granting thus small *Fees* in the Reigns of *Stephen*, *Henry II.*, and King *John*, Tenants in *Capite* or *Barons* were so multiplied that a very unequal Representation of the Kingdom arose, these *Lesser Barons* having an equal Share in the Legislature with the most Potent. This Grievance being grown to the greatest Height, when King *John* was reduc'd to Reason, there was a Clause inserted in his *Magna Charta*, whereby all the *Greater Barons* were to be severally summon'd to Parliament, and the *lesser* in General, by which means these Last were excluded from Sitting in Parliament singly, and in Person; but however the being summon'd in general, gave them a Right to do this as a Community and by Representation; and as these *lesser Ra-*

rons were co-ordinate in Rank, the Right of representing them naturally devolv'd on such of their Body as the Rest conferr'd it on. The Persons so chosen, were call'd from the *Tenure* of their Lands, and from their representing the respective Counties for which they serv'd, *Knights of the Shire*. These were to be chosen at the *Country-Courts*, where none but the immediate Tenants of the Crown (the *Lesser Barons*) came, and none other had Votes till by the 8th of *Henry VIth* all Freeholders of 40 Shillings per annum had a Right to vote at the Election of *Knights of the Shire*. Thus we find both before and after the Conquest all Proprietors of Land had a Share in the Legal Nature. See more in *St. Amand's Essay on the Legislative Power*.

III. The Authority of the WITTENAGEMOT, and the Affairs therein debated.

THERE is no handling this Subject as it shou'd be, without entering into an Examination of the three following Questions, about which there are as warm Disputes, as about the foregoing One.

I. In whom was lodg'd the *Legislative Power*? Whether in the *King*, in the *Great Council*, or in both together?

II. Whether the King had a Power to tax the People, without the Consent of the *Wittenagemot*?

III. Whether the *General Assembly* had a right to elect and depose the Kings?

The Highest Assertors of the Royal *Prerogative*, affirm that the *Legislative Power* wholly resided in the *King*. As a Proof of This, they appeal to the Terms made use of by the *Saxon Kings* in their Laws, by which they seem to declare themselves the *Sole Enactors*, without leaving the least Room to believe, that the *General Assembly* had any Hand in the Matter. To This it is answer'd, tho' there is no mention in these Laws of the Consent of the *Great Council*, it does not follow therefore, that their Concurrence was not necessary; no more than it can be infer'd at this Day

*I. In whom
was lodg'd
the Legis-
lative
Power.*

= A DISSERTATION on the

Day from our laying the Statutes of King Charles I. or, of King Charles II. that These Statutes were enacted without the Consent and Authority of Parliament. If we were to take in their literal Sense all the Expressions made use of in speaking of and to the King, we shou'd without doubt attribute greater Power to him than he is actually invested with. But in order to give more direct Proofs, that the Authority of the *Wittenam-Gemot* was necessary in making Laws, several Authorities are produc'd, by which they pretend to make appear, that the Kings acted nothing, in this Respect, without the Consent of the Estates.

The First is taken from the Title of the *West-Saxon* Laws of King *Ina*, where it is said that They were enacted with the Advice and Consent of the *Bishops, Great Men, Earls, Wise-Men, Seniors and People* of the whole Kingdom.

Ecbert says in one of his *Charters*, *I Ecbert King of the West-Saxons, with the Permission * and Consent of our whole Nation, and unanimous Advice of all the Great Men, &c.*

But seeing it may be objected, that this is a *Charter* and not a *Law*, the Testimony of King *Alfred* is alledg'd, who, in the Title of his Laws, speaking as if he acted by his sole Authority, concludes with these Words, *I Alfred King of the West-Saxons, shew'd these Laws to my Wise-Men, and They said, they All lik'd, or, were pleas'd, they shou'd be observ'd.*

At the End of King *Athelstan's* Laws, we have these Words: *All These Things were confirm'd and ordain'd by a General Assembly or Synod held at Graetly, at which was present Archbisshop Elfin, with all the Great Men King Athelstan cou'd assemble together.*

The Title of several other Laws made by this King runs in this Manner: *These are the Laws that were instituted by the Wise-Men at Exeter.*

Much the same Expression is prefix'd before the Laws of *Edgar* and *Ethelred II.*

In

* *Cum Licentia & Consensu.* Great Register of *Abindon* before meation'd.

In a Charter of *Canute the Great** we have these Words : *I Canute King of the whole Island of Albion and many other Nations, by the Advice and Decree of the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and all my other Faithful Subjects, have ordain'd, &c.* This Authority is of the greater Force, because *Canute* came to the Crown by Right of Conquest, and consequently 'tis not at all probable, he would have sought the Concurrence of the *Estates*, had he not found it customary so to do.

In a word, 'tis affirm'd, that if some of the Kings express themselves in such a Manner as wou'd induce one to believe they acted by their *Sole Authority* in making Laws, their Words are not to be understood in a *literal Sense*. The Reason is, because these Expressions are explain'd and limited by Those of some other Kings, who own'd that they acted in Concert with the *Wittena-Gemot*. Now there is no Likelihood that Sovereign Princes wou'd ever acknowledge their Power to be bounded, if it was not so in reality. If any one will insist upon this Sort of Expressions, which seem to imply that the Kings made Laws without being tied to the Consent and Approbation of Parliament, one may by the same Method prove, that the King at this very Day is invested with an absolute Power in this Respect. And indeed, in some certain *Acts*, which are laid before him by the *Parliament*, he says, *that he wills and requires*, altho' 'tis well known that His *Will* wou'd be of no Force, unleis preceded by the *Consent* of the two *Houses*.

The same Reasonings and Reflections are made use of II. *Raising Taxes*, with regard to the second Question, or the *Imposition of Taxes*. *Taxes*. If it seems in some Places as if the *Saxon Kings* rais'd Money by their own Authority, we are to understand this was not done till the Consent of the *Estates* was first obtain'd, as we find upon several other Occasions.

I shall not insist here on the Third Question, concerning the Electing and Depositing of the Kings, because I in-

* To the Abbey of St. Edmunsbury now in the Office of the King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer.

A DISSERTATION on the
 I intend to treat of these Points under the Article of the
 Succession.

*IV. The Authority of the WIT-
 TENA-GEMOT in Ecclesiasti-
 cal Matters.*

B EFORE the *Anglo-Saxons* embraced the Christian Religion, one of their Fundamental Constitutions, (which *Tacitus* ascribes also to the antient *Germans*) was, that all important Affairs relating to the whole Nation, were brought to the *General-Assembly*, where they were debated in common, to the End they might be settled with the unanimous Consent of All that had a Right to vote there. 'Tis no wonder therefore that *Matters of Religion* were regulated in their *Wittena-Gemots*, as I have elsewhere observ'd, since they are of the greatest Importance to Mankind. Accordingly *Edwin King of Northumberland*, being desirous, after his Conversion, to establish the Christian Religion in his Dominions, went not about it till he had consulted his *Wise-men*, that is, his *Wittena-Gemot*, as *Bede* relates it. The Maxim, that no Laws are binding, but what the whole Nation has consented to, has all along been look'd upon in *England*, as the Foundation of Liberty, and the Basis of Government.

Ecclesiastical Affairs may be distinguish'd into two Sorts. First, such as related to the *Clergy* alone, as making a distinct Body from the *Laity*. These were left to the sole Management of the *Ecclesiastics*, who held their *Councils* or *Synods*, where the *Laity* had nothing to do. Secondly, such as concern'd the Body of the People, as *Christians*. These were regulated in the *mixt Councils*, consisting of the chief Men of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*. In proceeding thus, they did no more than follow the Rules of Equity. They

They did not think it Just to enact Civil Laws, that were obligatory to the Clergy as Members of the State, without their Concurrence. On the other hand, they believed it unreasonable that the Clergy shou'd have a Power of making Ecclesiastical Laws that were binding to the Laity as Christians, without the Consent of the Witten-a-Gemot or Representatives of the Nation. They acted, in both these Respects, from the same Principle, namely, that no Man was bound by any Laws, to which he had not given his Consent, either by himself or by his Representative. Hence Witten-a-Gemot it is, that the Witten-a-Gemots were for the most Part mixt Assemblies, wherein were settled all important Affairs as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, and that their Authority was the same in Spirituals as Temporals.

To be convinc'd of this, one need only cast an eye on *Proofs of the Laws of the Anglo-Saxons*, where we find a perpetual *Mixture of Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws*. I shall produce a few Instances, which seem to me to put this Point out of Dispute. In the Year 673 a Council was conven'd, wherein presid'd Theodore Archbishop of Canterbury, and ten *Canons* of the antient General Councils were assented to, as hath been related in the State of the Church of that time. But this Assembly was not purely an *Ecclesiastical Synod*; for besides the Bishops, *all the Kings and Great Men of England were present*, as an Historian relates it. And therefore 'twas a mixt Council, a *Mycel Synod*, a real *Witten-a-Gemot*. We must take Care not to be led into an Error by the Word *Council*, or *Synod*, which at present are us'd to denote an *Assembly of Ecclesiastics*; whereas in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons* these Terms were not understood in so restrain'd a Sense, but serv'd to express all Sorts of *Great Assemblies*. Whoever carefully examines into the Nature of these antient Assemblies, which by Historians are call'd *Councils*, he will find that they were mixt Conventions, from their being subscrib'd, approv'd and assented to, by the Kings, Princes, and Great Men there present. In the Reign of *Edward the Elder*, an Assembly was held, wherein the Articles of a Treaty were settled between that Prince and *Guthrum*, to whom *Alfred* had given *East-Anglia*,

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glia, which certainly was a State-Affair if there was ever any such thing. And yet, by this very Assembly, were enacted several Ecclesiastical Laws, which in the Preamble are call'd, *Senatus-Consulta*, because they were made by the *Witan*, that is, by the Great Men of *Wessex* and *East-Anglia*. Among these Laws, besides several that were purely Political, there are some with these Titles, *Of Apostates*, *Of the Punishment of such as are in Orders*, *Of Incest*, *Of Fasts*, &c. From whence it is manifest, that these Political Assemblies made Laws relating to Religious Matters. An Historian says, that King *Athelstan* conven'd a *Council*, in which many Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil were enacted: Consequently this was not an Assembly of *Churchmen*, since no one ever pretended that the *Clergy* had a Power to make Secular Laws.

The Wittena-Gemot often elected the Bishops.
Heddi vit. Wilf. c. 11. dom. p. 46. But this is not All. It is made appear, by several Instances, that the *Wittena-Gemot* elected and depriv'd the Bishops. *Wilfred* Bishop of *York*, whom I have had frequent Occasion to mention, was elected by the two Kings of *Northumberland* and the General Council of that Kingdom, as the Author of his Life relates. *Erkenwald* Bishop of *London* was elected with the Consent of King *Sebba* and the Advice of all the People. *Wulstan* was made Bishop of *Worcester in Curiâ*, that is in the Great Assembly, which was call'd the *Court*, or the *King's Court*. *Ingulphus* Abbot of *Croyland* speaks in this Manner of the Elections of Bishops and Abbots: *For many Years past, there was no Election absolutely free and Canonical. But all Ecclesiastical Dignities were conferr'd by the King's Court, according to their good Pleasure* *.

And depriv'd them also. As the *Wittena-Gemot*, was concern'd in the *Election*, so was it also in the *Deprivation* of Bishops. Of which I shall give the following Instances. *Brithelm* Bishop of *Dorchester*, having been promoted to the *See of Canterbury*, *Edgar*, who had a mind *Dunstan* shou'd be *Archbishop*, got

* After which the Person so elected, being first consecrated, the King invested him with the *Temporalities*, by the *Delivery Baculis & Annuli*, as you may see by the same Author.

got *Brithelm* to be sent back to his former Bishoprick. How this was done we are inform'd by *Osbern the Monk*, who wrote the Life of *Danstan*: *Within a few Days after Brithelm had been made Archbishop, not thinking himself fit for so great a Charge, he departed to the Church he had lately left, by the Command of the King and People.* Another *Jo. Wallingford.* Historian relates this Matter in the manner following: *Ed-*
gar made Brithelm descend, the same way he got up: for a Council being conven'd for this very Purpose, he objected several Articles against Brithelm, and by the Order and Consent of his Barons, sent him back to the Cure of his former Church of Dorchester. *Brithelm* therefore was both elected and depriv'd by the Authority of the *Wittena-Gemot.* In the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*, *Robert* Archbishop of *Canterbury* was outed of his *See* by a Decree of the *Wittena-Gemot*, and *Stigand* being elected in his Place, the *Papal* Power cou'd neither procure this Election to be annull'd, as long as the Dominion of the *Saxons* lasted, nor prevent the *English* from acknowledging *Stigand* as their lawful Archbishop, tho' suspended by the *Pope.*

These Instances make appear, that the *Wittena-Gemot*, or, *Mycel-Synod*, was an *Ecclesiastical* and *Political* Assembly at the same time, and that all Affairs relating to the *Church* and *State* were indifferently debated there. 'Twas not till long after, when the *Papal* Authority was grown to a great Height, under the *Norman* Kings, that the *Clergy* claim'd the Privilege of debating apart all Matters that in any wise related to Religion, in *Ecclesiastical Assemblies*, or *Synods.*

I shall now proceed to speak of the *King* in particular, his *Prerogatives*, *Revenues*, and *Succession* to the *Crown.*

Of the KING.

*The Power
of the
King was
bounded.*

I Have already observ'd, that the *Saxon* Government in *Germany* was *Aristocratical*, and that they had only a *Superior* or *General* who commanded their Armies in time of War. The *Saxon* Leaders erected their several Conquests in *Great-Britain* into Kingdoms, and assum'd the Title of King. But however they were consider'd at first by their Subjects upon the same Foot with their Governors in *Germany*, whose Power was far from being *Despotical*. Notwithstanding some will have it that the Right of Conquest gave these first Kings an *Unlimited* Power, from whence it wou'd follow, that the Privileges of the *English* Subjects are, either *Concessions* of the Kings, or *Usurpations* of the People. This Argument, drawn from the Right of Conquest, might have been of some Weight, if the Privileges of the *Britons*, who were subdued, had been the Point in Question. But the Business in hand is the Privileges of the *Saxons* or *English*, who were themselves the Conquerors, and over whom the Conquest gave no Power to their Kings. I say, we are to consider here the *Saxons* only, since there remain'd in the Country they became Masters of but very few *Britons*, who were look'd upon but as so many Slaves. Seeing then it can't be said, that the *Anglo-Saxons* lost any of their Rights by the Conquests they made, we are to consider them in the same State they were in before in *Germany*, that is, as a free People under the Conduct of their Head or Chief, whose Power was limited by Law.

There is no Doubt but that in *England*, as well as in all the other Kingdoms, the Royal Authority by Degrees exceeded the Bounds at first prescribed. But the History of the *Anglo-Saxons* being very imperfect, there is no giving a particular Account of this Matter. I must therefore content my self with laying down in general some of the chief *Prerogatives*, the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings enjoy'd during their Dominion, which lasted above 600 Years, without

without being able so much as to observe the Alterations they may have undergone in that long Interval.

One of the most considerable of the King's *Prerogatives* was the Power of appointing the Earls, Viscounts, Judges and other Officers as well *Civil* as *Military*. Some however assert, that the Military Posts of the *Dukes* or *Holds* of each Province were conferr'd by the *Shire-Gemot*, or Assembly of the County. 'Tis very probable, 'twas in the Power of the King to change these Officers according to his Pleasure, of which we meet with several Instances in History. But after all, one can't be fure of it, because when one finds that such an Officer was turn'd out by the King, it does not necessarily follow, that it was done without the Consent or previous Sentence of the *Wittena-Gemot* *.

Another great *Prerogative* of the Crown, was that the Laws made in the *Wittena-Gemot* were of no Force without the *Affent* of the King, to whom was committed the *Executive* Power.

The King had also Power to pardon Malefactors. But as Offences may be considered under a double View, namely, as they relate to the Publick, or as being prejudicial to some private Person, the King cou'd only pardon them in the first Respect. The King's Pardon prevented not the offended Party from demanding Satisfaction for the Wrongs he had receiv'd. This Satisfaction was call'd in *Saxon*, *Wiregeld*, that is, a Compensation, that was to be made to the injur'd Party or his Friends and Relations. Hence without doubt is deriv'd the Custom in *England* at this Day, of the Wife's or Son's appealing in Cases of Murders.

For

* As the Earls in those Days held their *Earldoms* of the *Community*, and not of the King, there is no doubt but they were both made and turn'd out with the Consent of the *Great Council*. But as a Body Politick can't act it self, when any particular A& is to be done, the Execution thereof naturally devolves on the King as Lord or Head of the great Seigniory of the Kingdom. And therefore when he is said to make or put out an *Earl*, the Affent of the *Wittena-Gemot* is always to be suppos'd. For *Feudal Earls* (and all were so in those Days) you'd not be made without the Consent of the *Peers*.

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For the same Reason also this Clause is usually inserted in Pardons, *Ita tamen ut stet recte in curia nostra, si quis versus cum loqui voluerit.*

The Coining of Money was another of the King's *Prerogatives*, which he cou'd grant by *Charter* to whom he pleas'd, as we find, several of the *Saxon Kings* did to the two Archbishops and Others. But the King had not the Power of enhancing or debasing the Coin. The *Mirror of Justices* recites it as an old Law, that the King cou'd not change the Money or make other Coin than of Silver, *without the Consent of all the Counties.*

It is uncertain, whether it was absolutely in the Power of the *Saxon Kings*, *to make War or Peace*, without the Consent of the *Witten-a-Gemot*. 'Tis true indeed, the Power of making War was, as it is now, of little Consequence, since the King cou'd not raise Money to carry it on, without the Consent of the Estates. But as for making Peace, the Case is quite different, since on a *good or bad Peace* depends the Safety of a whole Kingdom, as hath been too often experienc'd. And therefore, these two *Prerogatives*, which are commonly join'd together, widely differ in their Consequences. It lies in the People's Breast, whether they'll contribute to the Wars, the King is pleas'd to enter into of his own Accord, and by refusing their Concurrence, have it in their Power to prevent the Mischiefs that an unjust or unnecessary War may occasion. But how shall they hinder the Effects of a pernicious Peace, concluded without their Knowledge.

The King's Revenues. The King's Revenues were divided into three Branches. The first consisted in certain Things, which the State furnish'd him with for the Maintenance of his Household, as Corn, Hay, Cattle and the like, which were usually paid in Kind. The second Branch was the Produce of certain *Demesnes* or Lands annex'd to the Crown, which were design'd to serve for publick Uses, it not being in the Power of the King to grant away any Part of them, not even to the *Church*, without the Consent of the *Estates*. Hence it is that we find the antient *Charters* of the *Saxon Kings* to the *Churches or Monasteries*, confirm'd by the principal Members

bers of the general Assembly, who sign them in this manner. *I. N.—have subscrib'd, confirm'd, approv'd, corroborated, &c.* One can't well doubt, but this Branch of the King's Revenue was applied to publick Uses, when one considers, that so late as the End of the fourteenth *Century*, in the Reign of *Richard II*, the *Parliament* order'd, that for the future the Revenues of the King's *Demesnes* shou'd go towards defraying the Charge of the Wars, he shou'd be engag'd in. The third Branch consisted, as at this Day, of certain Taxes or Impots, which were laid from Time to Time on the People upon urgent Occasions, by the Authority of the *Wittena-Gemot*.

We don't find that during the *Heptarchy*, the Kings affected any swelling Titles, as some did afterwards. They were all contented with the Title of King of their respective Kingdoms; and the Prince who was elected *Monarch* did not imagine he had a Right to distinguish himself upon that Account. *Ecbert* himself, even after his Sovereignty over the Seven Kingdoms, made no Alteration in his former Title of *King of the West-Saxons*. *Atelstan* was the first that stild himself, *Imperator*. *Edmund* was satisfied with, *Rector & Gubernator Angliae*. *Edgar* call'd himself, *King of the whole Island of Albion*. *Canute the Great* assum'd the Title of *King of Albion and many other Nations*. Some affected a Greek Title, as *Edgar*, who stiles himself, *Totius Angliae Basileus*.

As for the Coronation of the *Anglo-Saxon* Kings, there was no Time fix'd for this Ceremony, either during the *Heptarchy*, or after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. *The Cor-*
nation of the Kings.
They were crown'd when they thought it most convenient. Before *Ecbert*, the Kings of *Kent* were crown'd by the Archbishops of *Canterbury*: The Kings of *Northumberland* by the Archbishops of *York*; and the rest commonly by the Bishop of their Capital. After *Ecbert* had united the *Heptarchy*, or at least, four of the Kingdoms, into one, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* claim'd the Privilege of crowning the Kings; but this Pretension of his was founded only on a Custom, which tho' usual, was not for all that necessary. Accordingly, we find, after the Union,

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on, that several Kings were crown'd by the Archbishops of *York*, or even by other Bishops. Some will have it that *Harold* put the Crown on his own Head himself. *Sweyn*, the first *Danish* King, was not crown'd at all, and yet he was own'd for King. *Edgar* reign'd several Years in *Wessex* before he was solemnly crown'd. *Edward the Confessor's* Coronation was not perform'd till six Months after he was proclaim'd. The Delaying thus this Ceremony is a clear Evidence, they did not then look upon it as absolutely necessary. And therefore they who date the Beginnings of the Reigns from the *Coronation-Days*, only breed Confusion in *Chronology*, out of a mistaken Nicety. This way of reckoning is so much the more subject to Error, as there were several Kings who repeated the Solemnity of their Coronation at different Times; for Instance, *Cerdick* first King of *Wessex*. This Ceremony was not at first perform'd in a Church, but in the open Air. Thus 'tis expressly said by the Historians, that *Athelstan*, *Edmund* and *Edred* were crown'd in an open place *.

Form of the Crowns. As for the Form of their Crowns, it was not over-curious, at least it was not uniform, as may be seen from a great many Impressions of Heads of the *Saxon* Kings, given us by *Camden* and *Spelman* **. Some have only a *Diadem* of Pearls. Others a *Coronet* with six *Rays* or *Points*, with *Flower de Luce*s between, or *Pearls* upon them. *Edward the Confessor* has an *Imperial Crown*. This Variety shows, that in *England* as well as in other Places, there was not then any settled Form for the Crowns, but that each Prince pleas'd his own Fancy ***.

* They were crown'd in the Market-Place of *Kingston* upon *Thames*.

** These Impressions were taken from old *Saxon* Coins.

*** *Tyrrel* looks upon it as a Fiction in them who will needs have it that *Alfred* was crown'd with a Crown wrought with *Flower de luce*s, because such a Crown was kept among the *Regalia* at *Westminster* before our late Civil Wars. (See Note, p. 346. Vol. I.) The Inscription. *Hec est, &c.* being in all-probability put on the Box wherein it was kept by some Monk of after-Times, to give the greater Air of Antiquity to the Crown.

The SUCCESSION to the CROWN in the Time of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

TH E R E are three different Opinions in this Matter. *Three Opinions concerning the Succession,* as well during the *Heptarchy* as afterwards. The second, that the Crown was always *Elective*, and in the Disposal of the People; so that altho' the Son succeeded the Father, 'twas however by *Election*. The third, that the Crown was neither *Hereditary* nor *Elective*, but that the Kings had the Power of giving it by *Will* to any one of their Sons or Relations, whom they thought most worthy. But how confidently soever each asserts his Opinion, one plainly sees, 'tis much harder to establish any One of the Three, than 'tis to combat the other Two. This Difficulty arises from our imperfect Knowledge of the History of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and perhaps from their not proceeding regularly Themselves in this Matter. The Arguments made use of by each Party in defence of their Own, and against the Opinions of their Adversaries, are as follow.

The first tell us we need only run over the History of *Proof of the Heptarchy*, to be convinc'd that in each of the Seven *Kingdoms*, the Crown remain'd in the Family of the first Kings, as long as there were any *Male-Heirs in Being*. *Proof of the Crown's being Hereditary.* And that after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, there was no Alteration in this Respect, the Race of *Egbert* sitting on 'the Throne down to *Edward the Confessor*. 'Tis true indeed the *Danish* Kings are to be excepted: but as They intruded themselves by Force of Arms, nothing can be inferr'd from thence against the Crown's being *Hereditary*.

They who believe the Crown was *Elective*, ground *Proof that their Opinion upon the same History, by making appear it was Elective.*

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from thence, that the *Lineal Succession* from Father to Son was not always preserv'd. And indeed, they bring incontestable Instances of the King's Brother often succeeding before the King's Sons, and of distant Branches of the Royal Family being preferr'd before the nearest; whence they conclude, that this was occasion'd by the Right of *Election* being in the People. They farther add, that altho' the Son succeeded the Father, sometimes even for several Generations, it does not necessarily follow, that the Crown was *Hereditary*, no more than it does, that the *Imperial Crown of Germany* is so, because it has continued two hundred and fifty Years * in the *House of Austria*. To support their Opinion concerning the Right of Election, they alledge several Passages out of the Historians, who speaking of the Kings that succeeded their Fathers, use this Expression, *electus est in Regem. He was elected King.*

Answer.

To this the Others reply; that indeed it happen'd at some certain Junctures, that Fraud and Violence took Place: But however, the *Lineal Succession*, tho' broken for some time, preserv'd its Rights, since quickly after we find things were restor'd to their former State. I think it needless to produce the Instances both Sides ground their Assertions upon. Besides their having been related in the History, the Reader may easily refresh his Memory by casting his Eye on the *Genealogical Tables* of the *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, where the Succelitions are mark'd down in Order. As for the Expression in Historians, *He was elected*, they say, that these Words are to be found only in Authors, who wrote long after the Time we are speaking of, and who made use of them without considering the Consequences, seeing they were not treating expressly of this Matter. Besides, they pretend, that these Authors have not rightly translated the original Terms in the *Saxon Annals*, *Feng to Rice*, which properly signify, *Regnum Capessit, he took upon him the Kingdom.*

They

* Ever since *Ferdinand* Brother to *Charles the Fifth*, about 167 Years.

They who are of the third Opinion, alledge against the first, that the Crown was not therefore *Hereditary*, because it continued a long time in one Family, as is plain from the Instance above of the *House of Austria*. To the second they object, that after having proved the Crown was not *Hereditary*, their Inference from thence, that it was *Elective*, is not just, since there is another way, which excludes the other two, namely, that the Kings dispos'd of the Crown as they thought fit. To confirm this their Opinion, they alledge the Example of *France*, where they pretend, that the Kings, even as low down as some of the second Royal Family *, have enjoy'd the Privilege of disposing of their Dominions, and that this is the Reason that Kingdom was so often divided. For, say they, if it had been the eldest Son's Right to have always succeeded his Father, 'tis not to be conceiv'd, that the younger Brothers shou'd have been so frequently up in Arms to compel their elder to share the Kingdom with them. On the other hand, they observe, that had the Crown of *France* been *Elective*, 'tis not at all likely, that the *French* wou'd have always elected as many Sovereigns, as the former King had left Sons. From all which they conclude that the frequent *Partitions* during the first and second Royal Families, were made solely by this Disposing Power of the Kings. Agreeable to this is what *Mezeray* says, speaking of *Aribert* King *Dagobert's* Brother. His words are these: *But as Aribert was young, and as the King his Father perhaps had left him no Share of his Dominions in his Will, it was to no purpose that Bernulph, his Mother's Brother, endeavour'd to perswade the Neustrians to rise in his Favour.* This Custom establish'd by the *French* from the founding of their Monarchy, as they pretend to have prov'd, is doubtless a good Argument that the *Anglo-Saxons* did the like, seeing they liv'd at the same time, and came, as well as the *French*, from

* The Crown of *France* has been enjoy'd by 3 Royal Families, 1st the *Merovians*, begun by *Pharamond* and ended in *Childeric III.* 21 Kings. 2d. the *Carolinians* from *Charles Martel* to *Lewis V.* 14 Kings. 3d. begun in *Hugh Capet*, of which there have been 31 Kings.

Germany, in the same *Century*. But if 'tis objected, that we don't find then in *England* any Instances of the like Partitions in the Kingdoms of the *Heptarchy*, they reply, that there were some, tho' not many. The Kings of the *Heptarchy*, who were but *Petty Princes* in Comparison of the Kings of *France*, took care not to divide their Dominions, for otherwise there wou'd soon have been as many Sovereigns as Cities. However there were some of them that did so; for Instance, *Penda*, King of *Mercia*, plac'd in his life-time, *Peda* his eldest Son on the Throne of *Leicester*, he having erected that City and the adjoining Country into a Kingdom. *Ethelred*, his Son and Successor, gave *Merowald* his Brother Part of his Dominions, with the Title of King of *Hereford*, which little Kingdom *Merowald* left to his Brother *Mercelm*. *Oswy*, King of *Northumberland*, gave the Kingdom of *Deira* to *Alfred* his Natural Son, as *Ethelwulph* did the Kingdom of *Kent* in his Life-Time to *Athelstan*. For a further Confirmation of this Opinion, they produce *Ethelwulph's* Will, wherein he bequeath'd his Dominions in so absolute a Manner to his four Sons, that they were to succeed one another, whether they left any Heirs or not, the which was accordingly done. These are the Arguments alledg'd in Proof of the third Opinion: but however they have not remain'd unanswer'd.

Answer.

It is said, that those Princes, who were crown'd in their Fathers Life-Time, were properly but so many *Viceroy's*: and that they who, contrary to the establish'd Order, succeeded by Virtue of a *Will*, were not admitted to the Throne but by the Authority, or at least, with the Consent of the *Estates*, the which carries with it a Right of Election in the Subjects.

But it is more difficult to give an Answer to the Argument drawn from the Proceedings of *Canute the Great*, who towards the latter End of his Life, took all imaginable Care to act Nothing that might give the *English* any Occasion to dread he had a design to make any Innovations in the Government. 'Tis well known, this Prince annull'd his Marriage Articles with *Emma of Normandy*, by making

ing his *Will* and appointing *Harold* his Successor, instead of *Hardicanste*, who by the Marriage Contract was to have been Heir to the Crown. This seems to prove, that it entirely lay in the King's Breast to chuse his Successor. 'Tis true, after his Death Disputes arose in this Affair: but however that be, it appears at least, that this Prince thought he had a Power of disposing of the Crown by *Will*. The same thing may be said of *Edward the Confessor*. Whether this Prince actually made a *Will* in favour of the Duke of *Normandy*, or whether he design'd it only, or whether he gave him no more than a bare *Verbal Promise*, it may be inferr'd from thence, that he imagin'd he had a Right to settle the Succession by that Method.

These are the Reasons alledg'd to support the three Opinions, in this important Inquiry. I call it important with a View to those who really think it so. For my Part, I can hardly be perswaded, that there is any Necessity of having Recourse to the Customs of the *Anglo-Saxons*, as a Standard for those that are to be follow'd at this Day.

'Twou'd not perhaps be impossible to form an Idea of the *Anglo-Saxon* Government, with regard to the *Succession*, by uniting the three foregoing Opinions. It seems to me that from all the Reasons before recited, it may be inferr'd in favour of the first, that the Crown was *Heditary* in the Family of the *Saxon* Kings, as well during the *Heptarchy*, as after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms. In favour of the second it may be granted, that upon extraordinary Emergencies, the *Wittena-Gemot* considering it self as the Supreme Legislator, assum'd an absolute Authority, and went out of the usual Road. With the third it may be said, that the Kings had a Power of nominating their Successor, provided, when they had a mind to go out of the Common way, which was to prefer the next in Blood, they took Care to have their Choice confirm'd by the *Great Council* of the Kingdom. This is the Reason why those Kings who were not the next in Blood never fail'd of making the Best of the *Consent of the Estates*, that they might by that rectify the Irregularity in their Accession to

*The three
Opinions
may be
united.*

the

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the Throne. This is what we see also in *Alfred's Will*, at the End of his Life publish'd by *Spelman**. By uniting thus the three Opinions, the Rules for settling the Succession in the Time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, will be found to be much the same with those at present. It is confess, the Crown is *Hereditary*. But however this prevents not the *Parliament*, in extraordinary Cases, from claiming the Power of breaking the *Line*, and settling the Succession on a more distant, to the Prejudice of a nearer Branch of the Royal Family. Of this the History of *England* since the *Conquest* furnishes us with many Instances and *Precedents*, without insisting on those of our own Times. If 'tis objected, that all don't allow the King and Parliament to have a Right to such a Power, it may be replied, that till the contrary is determin'd by a Lawful Authority, 'tis reasonable to presume that this Power is rightfully lodg'd in the Nation. According to these Principles, they who labour to prove that the Crown was *Elective* in the time of the *Anglo-Saxons*, don't seem to do any great Matters in favour of the *Parliament*, which claims not a Power to alter the Succession but on certain Occasions. On the other Hand, they who undertake to prove that the Crown was *Hereditary* at that time, do not greatly prejudice the Authority this *August Body* assumes only in extraordinary Cases. As for them who endeavour to prove that the *Saxon Kings* had an absolute Power to dispose of the Crown, since, in all Appearance, they don't pretend that the present Kings of *England* have any such Power now, they seem to me to debate a Question that has more of Curiosity in it than Importance.

Of

* *Ego Ælfredus —— totius West-Saxonie Nobilitatis Consensu paritu & Assensu, Occidentalium Saxonum Rex, &c.* Whence it is manifest, that tho' he was nominated in his Father's Will to succeed his Brothers, yet he was *Elected* or at least *Confirm'd* by the Great *Council* in the Possession of the Crown, to bequeath'd to him by his Father. And therefore it is plain, that tho' the King had the Power to dispose of the Crown by *Will*, yet it cou'd not be done without the *Consent* and *Assent* of the *Estates*.

Of the LAWS of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

DURING the *Heparchy*, there were no Laws *several* common to all the Seven Kingdoms: but each had *sorts of Laws*. It is very likely however, that these Laws were much the same, since the Inhabitants of the Seven Kingdoms came from one Original. But there is nothing certain in this Matter. The first Laws we have any *Bede, l. 2.* Knowledge of, are those *Ethelbert King of Kent enacted c. 3.* about the time of the Conversion of the *Saxons*. We have likewise *Ina's King of Wessex*, and *Offa's King of Mercia*; and there is no doubt but some of the other Kings made Laws, tho' they are not come down to us.

After the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, *Egbert's* Successors farther explain'd, or extended the Laws already establish'd, or made new ones. The most famous are those *Laws of Alfred the Great*, taken, as he himself says, from the *Alfred* best he cou'd meet with, and particularly from *Ina's* and *Offa's*, above-mention'd. *Edgar*, with such Additions and of *Edgar*. Emendations as he thought fit, caus'd the Laws of *Alfred* to be strictly observ'd. But it must be remembred, that when *England* was divided into two Kingdoms, *Wessex* and *Mercia*, each had their Laws apart, and that *Canute the Great* got those the *Danes* had introduc'd into *Northumberland* and *East-Anglia* to be approv'd by the General Assembly. There were therefore in *England* three Kinds of *Three sorts of Laws*, the *West-Saxon*, *Mercian*, and *Danish*, till *Edward of* *Laws*. *the Confessor* united them all into one Body *. As I propos'd

* See what Bishop *Nicolson* says of this threefold Distinction of the Law in the Note at p. 39. To which may be added here the Opinion of *Spelman*. "Our *Saxons*, tho' divided into many Kingdoms, yet were they all one in Effect, in Manners, Laws, and Language: so that the breaking of their Government into many Kingdoms, or the reuniting of their Kingdoms into a Monarchy, *wrought*

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pos'd only to give a general Notion of the Government of the *Anglo-Saxons*, my Design is not to enter into a particular Account of all these Laws. I shall content my self with relating some Circumstances, which seem to me to merit the Curiosity of such as are Strangers to the *English Constitution*.

The Laws were divided into two Kinds, *Civil* and *Criminal*. The first concern'd the *Lands* or *Estates*, which were of two Sorts, *Bocland* and *Socland*. *Bocland* was much of the same Nature with the *Lands* we call *Allodial**. It was *free* and *Hereditary*, which the Owner might dispose of, tho' he held it in *Fee* of a Superior Lord. This was properly what is elsewhere call'd, *Feudum honoratum*. This sort of *Land* was possess'd by the *Nobles* and most considerable among the People. *Socland* was possess'd by the *Ceorls*, and holden of the Lord by payment of a certain annual Rent, and performance of

" wrought little or no change amongst them touching Laws. For
 " tho' we talk of the *West-Saxon-Law*, *Mercian-Law*, and *Dane-Law*, whereby the several Parts of *England* were govern'd: yet
 " held they All an Uniformity in Substance, differing rather in their
 " *Multis* than in their *Canon*; that is, in the Quantity of *Fines* and
 " *Americiamens*, than in the Courte and Frame of Justice, *Reliq. Spel.* p. 49.

* The *Northern Nations* neither incorporating nor destroying the Inhabitants in their Conquests, divided the Land into three Parts; one they left to the old Possessors, the other two they took themselves. These Divisions are called by the Writers of those Ages, *Sortes Gothicæ*, and *Sortes Romane*, in *Italy*. The *Franks* proceeded in the same manner in *Gaul*. What they took to themselves was term'd *Terra Salica*, the Rest, was call'd *Alodium*, from the negative Particle *A* and *Leud*, which signifies in *Teutonick*, Persons link'd by *Feudal Tenures*, who only had a Share in the *Legislature*. So that *Allodial Lands*, were such as were not subject to *feudal Duties*: yet before Tenants were oppressed, the Term, *Allodarij*, was a Term of Reproach as it discriminated the *Vanquish'd* from the *Victors*. Tho' their Land was at first free from all *Service*, many Possessors for their better Security gave their *Allodial Lands* to the Chiefs of great Lordships to take them back under *Feudal Tenures*. Others, without divesting themselves at all of their antient Possession, plac'd themselves under such Superiors, and then came in Use the Phrase, *tenere in Allodio*, frequent enough in our *Doomsday Book*, and in foreign Writers; for all Protection and Subjection was supposed then to be founded on *Tenure*. *St. Amand*, p. 26, 27.

of certain personal Services. This sort of Land is the same with what is call'd a *Rural Fief*. I don't think it necessary to enquire here into the Original of *Fees*^{*}, which wou'd lead me too far, and besides would contain nothing peculiar to *England*. I shall only say, that *Selden* is of Opinion, that *Fees* derive their Origin from the *North*, and from thence pass'd into *Germany, Italy, France, Spain, England*, where the *Northern Nations* settled. It wou'd also be too long a Digression from my present Purpose, to recite all the Laws, which concern'd the Possession of the two Sorts of *Lands* before-mention'd, especially seeing these are Matters which few People understand. 'Tis sufficient to have given a general Idea of them, and therefore I shall proceed to what is much more intellegible, the *Criminal Part of the Laws*.

By the Regulations of *Alfred the Great*, all Persons accus'd of any Crime, were to be tried by their *Peers*. This Privilege, which the *English* have preserv'd to this Day, is one of the greatest a Nation can enjoy. It screens the *Small* from the Oppression of the *Great*, and from the *Caprice or Passion* of the King himself, of which there have been several Instances in *England*. But as the Term, *Peers*, may not be rightly understood by many Readers, it will not be amiss briefly to explain the Meaning of that Word. 'Tis to be observ'd, that in *England* there are but two Degrees or Orders of Men, namely, the *Peers of the Realm*, and the *Commons*. *Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons, Archbishops and Bishops*, are *Peers of the Realm*, and *Peers* among themselves; so that the lowest of the *Barons* is the *Peer* of the highest *Duke*. All the Rest of the People are rank'd with the *Commons*. By which Means the meanest *Artificer* is the *Peer* of All below the Rank of a *Baron*. When therefore it is said, that every one is tried by his *Peers*, the Meaning is, that the *Peers of the Realm* are judg'd by those of their own Order, that is, by the other Lords; and one of the Commonalty, by such as belong to the Body of the *Commons*, who in this

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Respect

* See Note, p. 141

Respect are his *Peers* or *Equals*; how much soever they may differ with regard to their *Birth* or *Fortune*. There is however this Difference between the *Peers of the Realm*, and the *Commons*; every *Peer of the Realm* has a right to vote at the Tryal of another *Peer*; whereas the *Commons* are tryed by no more than twelve Persons of their own Rank, whose *Verdict* reaches no farther than the Matter of Fact; that is, These twelve Persons after having been present at the publick Examination of the Witnesses for and against the Party accus'd, only bring him in *Guilty* or not *Guilty* of the Crime laid to his Charge; after which the Judge condemns or acquits him according to Law. Such is the Privilege the *English* have all along enjoy'd ever since the Time of King *Alfred*. And perhaps this Prince only reviv'd a Custom establish'd by the *Saxons* Time out of Mind *.

*Means of
discovering
the Truth.*

By Oath.

When the Crime was not clearly prov'd, or when there was not sufficient Evidence to condemn, or acquit the Person accus'd, they made use of several Means, by which they thought they shou'd be able to discover the Truth. The first was by *Oath*, which the Party suspected was oblig'd to take, in order to clear himself from the Crime laid to his Charge. But his single Oath was not sufficient. He was to bring with him a certain Number of Persons who were [and still are] call'd *Compurgators*, who swore also to his Innocence.

*Ordeal
Tryals.*

The second Means was by *Ordeal*, *¹ that is, Trial by *Fire* or *Water*. The Trial by *Fire* was perform'd two Ways.

* Sir *William Temple* says, Traces are not wanting of this Custom, from the very Institutions of *Odin* the first Leader of the *Astatick Goths* or *Getae* into *Europe*, and Founder of that mighty Kingdom round the *Baltick Sea*, from whence all the *Gothick Governments* in these *North-West Parts* of the World were deriv'd. This is the Reason that it is known to have been as antient in *Sweden* as any *Records*, or *Traditions* of that Kingdom, and still remains in some Provinces. The *Normans* introduc'd the Terms of *Jury* and *Verdict* as well as many other Law Terms; but the Trials by twelve Men are expressly mention'd in *Alfred's* and *Ethelred the First's Laws*.

*¹ *Somner* in his *Glossary* derives this Word from *Or*; a *Privative*, and *Dal*, that is, *Distinction*, or *Difference*, as much as to say, an *Impartial Judgment*, without any *Distinction*.

Ways. The Person accus'd held in his Hand a red-hot Piece of Iron of one, two, or three pounds Weight, according to his Crime, or according to the Evidence against him; or else he was made to walk *barefoot* and *blind-fold*, over nine red-hot Plow-shares plac'd at a stated Distance. If he had the good Luck to come off unhurt, he was declar'd innocent: But in Case he was burnt, he was pronounc'd guilty. Persons of Quality were tried by *Fire-Ordeal*, of which *Emma*, Mother to *Edward the Confessor*, is an Instance. Tryal by *Water-Ordeal* was made either by *Cold* or by *Scalding-Water*. *Peasants* and *Slaves* were put upon this Trial. In the Trial by *Cold Water*, the Party suspected had his Hands and Feet tied together, and so thrown into a Pond or River. If he sunk, he was adjudg'd *Guilt*; but if he floated on the Surface of the Water, he was declar'd *Innocent**. When *Scalding-Water* was the Test, the Person accus'd was to plunge his Arm into it as far as the Wrist, and sometimes up to the Elbow. The

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Trial

* Our Author seems here to be mistaken, for the contrary is true. *Sinking* was a sign of Innocence, and *Swimming* of Guilt. The Custom among the Country People of trying *Witches*, by throwing them into the Water with their Thumbs and Toes tied together, is perhaps a Relict of *Water Ordeal*. These Tryals were made with great *Solemnity*, and were always managed by the *Clergy*. The Person accus'd was oblig'd to swear his Innocence, and sometimes, especially if in *Orders*, to receive the *Sacrament*. After the *Charge* was legally brought in, the Person impeach'd was to spend three Days in *Fasting* and *Prayer*. At the Day of *Tryal*, which in the *Fire-Ordeal* was made in the Church, the Priest in his Habit took up the *Iron* which lay before the Altar, and repeating the Hymn of the *Three Children*, put it into the *Fire*: Then using some Forms of *Benediction* over the *Fire* and *Iron*, he sprinkled the *Iron* with *Holy Water* and made the Sign of the *Cross* in the Name of the *Trinity*: Which done, the Party accus'd pass'd thro' the Test. The Ceremony of the *Scalding-Water-Ordeal* was much the same. But when the *Tryal* was by *Cold Water*, the 3 Days Fast and other Circumstances being premis'd, the Person suspected drank a Draught of *Holy Water*, to which the Priest added an Imprecation in Case he was guilty: Then the Water into which he was to be thrown, had a sort of *exorcising* Form of Prayers said over it. All these ways of *Tryal* continued long after the Conquest. The first publick Discountenance from the State was in the third Year of *Henry III*.

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Trial by cold Water was introduc'd by *Lewis le Debonnaire* and by Pope *Eugenius II.*, in the Room of an Oath, which was but too often the Occasion of the guilty Persons perjuring themselves ; and the *English* follow'd their Example.

Single Combat.

The third Way of Tryal was by *Single Combat*. When the Evidences against the Person accus'd were not strong, he was allow'd to vindicate his Innocence by challenging his Accuser to single Combat. If the Party impeach'd was a Woman, she had the Privilege of substituting one in her Room, who was call'd her *Champion*. This Custom was not introduce'd into *England* till towards the End of the Empire of the *Saxons* : But it continued a long Time in Being.

Corsned.

A fourth Way of Tryal was by giving the Party suspected a Bit of Bread or Cheese *, consecrated with abundance of Ceremonies. 'Twas believ'd that if he was guilty, the Bread or the Cheese wou'd stick in his Throat and choak him : but if Innocent, he wou'd readily swallow it. Part of the Imprecation us'd upon delivering him the Bread, (after he had receiv'd the Communion) was as follows : *May this Bread [or this Cheese] which is given him in order to bring the Truth to light, stick in his Throat and find no Passage, if he is guilty* *. *But if Innocent of the Crime laid to his Charge, may he easily swallow this Bread [or, this Cheese] consecrated in thy Name, to the End All may know, &c.* This way of Tryal was evidently in Imitation of the *Waters of Jealousy* among the Jews. They, who forg'd the Circumstances of Earl Goodwin's Death, as related in the Reign of King Edward, had visibly an Eye to this Custom. This consecrated Bread or Cheese was call'd *Corsned* from the Word *Snide* or *Snidan*, which signifies to cut a Bit off, and *Corse*, that is, to Curse, because 'twas believ'd that it brought a Curse on the

Numb. v.

* He was to take an Ounce of either fasting.

* The Imprecations go on thus: *May his Face turn Pale, his Limbs be convuls'd, and an horrible Alteration appear in his whole Body,*

the guilty Person. The Church not only approv'd of all these Ways of *Tryal*, but prescrib'd the Ceremonies and Forms of Prayers to be us'd on these Occasions, and even consented that the Bishops and Priests shou'd officiate at the Time of the Tryals. There is a Law of *Canute the Great* concerning the *Corsned* to this Effect: If a Man be accus'd of *Murder*, or of having any hand in it, let him clear himself to the Relations and Friends of the murder'd Person, and if necessary, let him be put to the Tryal of the Corsned. One can't but be surpris'd, that the *Saxons* and other Nations, among whom these *Tryals* were common, cou'd for so long together fancy, that they were infallible ways of bringing the Truth to light. On the contrary, one wou'd think that the numberless Experiments they must needs have had of their Uncertainty, shou'd have open'd their Eyes and made them see their Error.

When the *Charge* was fully prov'd, the Law ordain'd several Sorts of Punishments, according to the Quality of the Offence. The greatest Part whereof consisted in *Fines*, which the guilty Person was condemned to pay to the injur'd Party, to the King, to the *Earl*, or to his *Lord*. There were some Crimes however, that were look'd upon as *Capital* and were punish'd with Death. Such ware *Treason* against the King, or Lord, *wilful Murder* and *Theft*. Tho' *Treason* was Death by the Law, yet the guilty Person had the Liberty of redeeming his Life by paying the *Valuation* of the King's or Lord's Head. *Coining of Money* was *Coining*, not originally a *capital Crime*: but the bad Consequences of it made the Penalty very great. The first Law that made it Death was in the Reign of *Ethelred II*, tho' it was left in the King's Power to commute the Punishment for a *Fine*. As for *Murder*, the Laws distinguish'd killing a *Murder* Man in some sudden and unforeseen Quarrel, from doing it *and Man-slaughter*. wilfully and out of premeditated Malice. The Punishment of the Former was only *Pecuniary*, the Latter was *Death*. This Distinction is still kept up in the Laws of *England*, where the first is call'd, *Man-slaughter*; and the other, *Murder*. *Theft* or *Robbery* was not till after some Time *Theft*, punishable by Death, and even the first Laws that made it so, permitted

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permitted the *Thief* to redeem his Head by a Summ of Money.

*Fines for
other
Crimes.*

All other Offences were punish'd only by *Mulcts* or *Fines*, till the Reign of *Canute the Great*, who order'd in the Case of *Adultery*, that the Woman should have her Nose and Ears cut off, and the Man shou'd be banish'd the Realm. These *Fines* were not left to the *Will* of the Judge, but were settled by Law, according to the Quality of the injur'd Party, from the *King* to the *Peasant*; and with regard to the Malefactors, from the *Ealdorman* to the *Slave*. Upon some certain Occasions, they who had incur'd the Penalty of Death, might buy off their Punishment by giving the King part of their Estates. But this was seldom done, except in such Cases where the Quality or Power of the guilty Party render'd it difficult or dangerous to put the Laws in Execution. We have a remarkable Instance of This in the Tryal of Earl *Goodwin* in the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*. This Lord, as hath been related in the Life of King *Edward*, having enter'd the *Thames* with his Fleet, the King was constrain'd to restore him to his Honours. But as he had been banish'd by the *Wittenagemot*, he was to be recall'd by the same Authority. It was necessary therefore to use some *Formalities*, which shou'd screen him from being call'd to an account afterwards, and the Method they took was This. The Earl being come to *London*, where the great Council was assembled, the King Himself turn'd his Accuser, and said, *Thou Traitor, Goodwin, I charge thee with the Death of Alfred my Brother, whom thou hast traiterously murder'd. My Lord,* anwer'd the Earl, *saving the Reverence I owe you, I have neither murder'd nor betray'd your Brother, and am ready to refer my self to the Judgment of your Court.* Upon which the Witnesses were produc'd and examin'd, and then *Leofrick Duke of Mercia* spoke thus: *It seems evident to me that Prince Alfred was put to Death by the Advice of Earl Goodwin. But as he is one of the greatest Lords in the Kingdom, 'tis my Opinion, that Twelve of us Earls, who are his Relations and Friends, shou'd take as much Gold as we can carry in our Hands, and humbly presenting it to the King, shou'd supplicate*

plicate for his Pardon and his being restor'd to his Honours upon his taking the Oath of Allegiance. This being agreed to, Twelve of the Lords offer'd a certain Summ to the King, which he accepting of, pardon'd the Earl : But this whole Process was all a Farce. *Goodwin* knew before-hand how Matters wou'd go, otherwise he wou'd never have ventur'd, to stand by their Sentence.

Before I conclude this Head, it will be proper to remark, that several, upon reading the *Saxon Laws*, falsely imagine, that the Murder, as well of the King, as of any other Subject, was punishable only by a *Fine*. But this wrong Notion proceeds purely from not attending to the Distinction before-mention'd between *wilful Murder* and *Man-slaughter*. Of this Last, weare to understand *Athelstan's Law* *, which settles the *Fines* to be paid for the killing any Man, from the *King* to the *Slave*.

* In this Law we have the Valuation of Mens Heads of all Orders and Degrees. This Valuation was call'd in *Saxon*, *Wiregild*. The King's Head was valu'd at 30,000 *Thrimſas* (that is in our Money 360*l.* each *Thrimſa* being suppos'd worth about our three Pence, the same as their *Peninga* or *Scœa*) half of which was to be paid to his Relations, and half to the State. An Atheling or Prince's was valu'd at 15000 *Thrimſa's*: A Bishop's and *Ealdorman's* at 8000: a General's at 4000: a Spiritual and Temporal *Thane's* at 2000: (hence 'tis evident that a *Thane* was far from being the same with a *Baron*, whose *Valuation* would have been at least as much as a Bishop's) the *Ceorl's* Head was valu'd at 267, but if he was so rich as to posseſs five Hides of Land, at 2000, the same as a *Thane's*. The *Saxon Money* is thus calculated by *Mr. Cambden*, a *Peninga* three of our Pence. A *Shilling* 3 *Peningas*, or 15 d. a Pound 48 *Skillings*, or 3 of our Pounds. *Manca*, *Mancusa*, or *Marca* 12 of our Pence. *Manca* of Gold 30 *Peningas* or 7*s.* 6*d.*

The CUSTOMS and MANNERS of the ANGLO-SAXONS.

THE *Anglo-Saxons* brought with them from *Germany*, their own Country's *Virtues* and *Vices*, and transmitted them to their *Posterity*. Their *Valour*, to which they were indebted for their Conquests, as well in *England* as *Germany*, was what they valued themselves most upon. They were bred up to Arms from their Infancy, and it may be said that War was their only Profession. They came to their *General Assemblies* arm'd; and show'd their Approbation of what was propos'd by striking their Javelins one against another. Their usual Arms were the *Sword*, *Club*, *Battle-Ax*, or *Bill*, and *Javelin*. As they had no *Bows* and *Arrows*, their Battles were the more bloody. After they had darted their Javelins, they came to a *close Fight*, wherein their Dexterity in handling their Arms, gave them a great Advantage. 'Tis true indeed, towards the End of their Empire, they were frequently worsted by the *Danes*, and at length by the *Normans*. But where is the Nation, how famous soever for Bravery, that has not experienc'd the like Turns of Fortune? Among the *Saxons*, a Man without Courage was look'd upon with the utmost Contempt. This lofty Conceit of martial Valour was the Cauſe of the great Difficulty of their being reconcil'd after a Quarrel. Each Party dreading the Name of a Coward, shou'd he make the first Advances, the Quarrel was kept on Foot from Father to Son, and very seldom ended but with the Extinction of one of the Families *.

It

* These are what we call, *Deadly Feuds*, that is, Quarrels which end not but in Death. The 38th Law of *Alfred* is concerning these *Deadly Feuds*, and gives a strange License for Men to take Satisfaction on their Enemies, even without the Presence of any Officer. Nay, so far

It is easy to imagine, that People of this Temper; accus'd from their Childhood to fear neither Blows nor Wounds, and continually encourag'd by the Example of their Relations and Friends, encounter'd Dangers with all the Resolution in the World. Accordingly there never was any Nation, that look'd Death in the Face with greater Intrepidity than the *Saxons*. And all the World knows this is the Character of the *English* at this very Day.

The *Saxons* were extremely addicted to Religion, even before they had the Happiness of becoming Christians. When they settled in *Great-Britain*, they were not only Idolaters, but of all the Heathens were the most attach'd to the Service of their Gods, even to the Sacrificing of the Prisoners of War on their Altars. As soon as they had embrac'd the Gospel, the same Inclination caus'd them to receive and practice, with equal Zeal, the Duties of the Christian Religion, and whatever the Monks, their First Teachers, were pleas'd to inculcate upon them. 'Twas unlucky for them, that they should not come to the Knowledge of God, 'till the Monks began by degrees to disfigure Religion by their *superstitions* Practiccs. As the *Saxons* were Men of no *Learning*, and consequently not competent Judges of what they were taught, they entirely gave themselves up to the Management of their Guides. Hence their great Zeal in founding and endowing Monasteries. They were made to believe, that the *Main* of Religion consisted in enriching the Monks, or at least that they might by that Means supply all Defects. This is the Reason, that in the two first Centuries after their Conversion we find among them so many *Saints* of distinguish'd Birth and Fortune. Indeed, since *Sanctity* might be purchas'd by *liberal* Benefactions to the Monasteries, it was an easy way for the Rich and the Powerful to come at it. But altho' their Thoughts were engross'd by abundance of unnecessary

far did they proceed, that if one Man kill'd another, his Kindred reveng'd his Death upon any of the Murderer's Relations, (as they do among the *Indians*) till King *Edmund* order'd by a Law that the Murderer alone shou'd bear the *Deadly Feud* or Enmity of the Kindred of the Party slain.

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things, yet one can't but observe a great Bias to Religion in all their Proceedings. This natural Inclination no doubt was the Reason, that so many of their Kings voluntarily exchanged their worldly Glory for a *Cloyster*. They who are acquainted with the Temper of the *English* at this Day, will readily own that no Nation can produce more Instances of fervent and *solid* Piety. My long Abode in *England* makes me affirm this the more boldly. 'Tis true indeed, God has permitted *Libertinism* in Matters of Religion to have got some Ground there of late Years. But 'twou'd be very unjust to judge of a whole Nation by a few that are infected by it, and of whom one single Person shall make more Noise in the World by his pernicious *Maxims*, than many Thousands of pious and sincere Christians.

*Common-swearing
not frequent among the
Saxons.*

The *Anglo-Saxons* were so little accustomed to *Swearing* and *Blaspheming*, which are grown so common now-a-days in Conversation, that among all their Laws, we don't find one against this Custom. It can't be said this was owing to the Negligence of the *Legislators*, since we see in those very Laws, great Penalties laid upon such as shou'd break the *Sabbath*, or not keep a *Fast*.

*Given to
Drunken-
ness.
Edgar's
Law a-
bout it.*

Drunkenness was their reigning Vice. They had been us'd to drink out of large Cups, and to take great Draughts, till *Edgar*, willing to reform this Abuse, order'd certain Marks to be made in their Cups at such a Height, above which they were forbid to fill under such a Penalty. But this Regulation continu'd not long in Force.

*The Sci-
ences.*

Altho' the *English* in General, before the *Norman Conquest*, were not very Famous for their *Learning*, it is not to be attributed to their Want of *Genius*, but rather to their Education, which was entirely turn'd to Arms. Besides, the time of the Dominion of the *Saxons*, especially after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, was not a time, wherein the *Sciences* greatly flourished.

*They reck-
on'd Time
by Nights.*

I have but two Remarks more to make on the Customs of the *Anglo-Saxons*. The First is, they reckon'd the Time by *Nights*, a Custom they still retain in *England* in some Expressions. For Instance, instead of *two Weeks*, they say a *Fortnight*, or *Fourteen-Nights*. *Mezeray* observes the same thing

thing of the antient *Franks*. This, with several other Customs common to the *Franks* and *Saxons*, is a strong Presumption, that these two Nations were deriv'd from the same Source. This is what Sir *William Temple* asserts also in his *Introduction to the History of England*.

My Second Observation is, that the *Anglo-Saxons* were ^{The Saxon} wont to separate their Lands by large and deep Ditches. ^{Dikes} This was not only the Custom of private Persons : but the Kings themselves took care to raise Ramparts with large Ditches, on the Frontiers of their Dominions, to separate them from those of the Neighboring States, when there was no Mountains or Rivers to serve for Boundaries. *Offa's Dike*, which he made to divide *Mercia* from *Wales*, was 24 Miles long. There was another between the *Thames* and the *Severn*, which separated *Mercia* from *Wessex*. It was call'd *Woden's Dike*, but contracted now into *Wandsditch*. *Mercia* and *East-Anglia* were parted in the same Manner. Afterwards, the *East-Angles* getting Ground upon the *Mercians*, made another Ditch Seven Miles further in the Country, where they had carried their Conquests. The First was call'd, but for what reason I know not, the *Devil's-Dike*, and the other, the *Seven-mile-Dike*. They had this Custom from the antient *Saxons*, who practis'd the same thing in *Germany*. We are inform'd by some Historian, that the *Saxons* of *Sleswick* thrèw up a large Rampart from Sea to Sea, to defend themselves against the Incursions of the *Danes* who were in possession of the *Cimbrick Chersonesus* or *Jutland*. *Pepin King of France* was prevented a long time from entering *Saxony* by one of these Ramparts, and 'twas not but with great Difficulty that he made his way over it at last.

The LANGUAGE of the ANGLO-SAXONS,

The several Dialects of the Anglo-Saxons. FOR the better understanding the Nature of the Language of the *Anglo-Saxons*, 'twill be necessary to distinguish the several Languages that were in use in *England*, after the Arrival of the first *Saxons*. The *English* Tongue originally differ'd but little from the *Danish*, since the antient Writers call them indifferently *Cimbrick*, *Scandinavian*, *Gothick*: but this Language was not the same with the *Saxon*. They spoke at First in the Parts lying North of the *Thames*, pure *English* or *Danish*, and South of the *Thames*, pure *Saxon*. Tho' these two Languages were different, yet 'twas not to such a Degree but that the two Nations might understand one Another. In Proces of time, especially after the Union of the Seven Kingdoms, *Saxon* prevail'd over all the Kingdom, because the Kings were of that Nation. Thus, *English* [or the Language of the *Angles*] was by degrees disus'd, or at least banish'd from common Conversation. Afterwards the *Danes* settling in *England*, brought hither their Language, which was not the antient *Danish* or *English* above mention'd, but a *modern Danish*, being a Mixture of the Language of the Neigbouring Nations. This *modern Danish* was chiefly us'd in *Northumberland*, *Mercia*, and *East-Anglia*, where the *Danes* were Masters. Tho' out of complaisance to the *English*, *Canute the Great* publish'd his Laws in *Saxon*, yet the *Danish* Tongue was still retain'd in the North, where the People were most of them *Danes*. As it was also spoke at Court during the Reigns of *Canute the Great* and his two Sons, it became necessary for the *West-Saxons*, who adopted several Words and Idioms of it into their own Language. But upon *Edward the Confessor's* Accession to the Throne, *Saxon* prevail'd again at Court. Hence the Inhabitants of the North were under some necessity of

of learning it, just as the *Goscoigns* in *France* are oblig'd to learn *French*.

In the Reign of King *Edward*, the *Norman* Language began also to be introduc'd into *England*. As his Mother was a *Norman*, and as he had liv'd many Years in that Court, he was very fond of the *Norman* Language. Moreover, the great Numbers of *Normans* that flock'd into *England*, was a great Means of spreading this Language among the Persons of Quality, who took a Pride in speaking it well. The *Norman* Tongue was at that time a Mixture of *Danish* and *French*, the last of which prevailing at length, the ancient *Danish* the *Normans* had brought with them into *Normandy*, daily lost Ground. As soon as *William the Conqueror* was seated on the Throne of *England*, he us'd all possible means to bring his Native Tongue in Vogue throughout the Kingdom; He publish'd his Laws in *Norman*, the which, and the settling of Multitudes of *Norman* Families in *England*, made that Language as common as the *Saxon*.

The Language then of the *Anglo-Saxons* before the Conquest was a Mixture of the following *Dialects*. 1. Of *British* or *Celtick*, from whence no doubt the *Saxons* borrow'd some Words and Phrases. 2. Of *Latin*, which was common in *Great-Britain* when the *Saxons* arriv'd. 3. Of the Antient *English* or *Danish*. 4. Of the Modern *Danish*. 5. Of pure *Saxon*. 6. Of *Norman* mix'd with *Danish* and *French*. They who have carefully studied this Matter, distinguish three principal *Dialects* in the *Anglo-Saxon* Language. The first was compounded of *British*, *Latin* and *Saxon*, but in such a manner that the *Saxon* was predominant. The only Remains of this *Dialect*, which was in use above 300 Years, is a *Fragment* of the Writings of *Cedmon the Monk*, inserted by *Alfred the Great* in his Translation of *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*. The Second *Dialect*, which may be term'd *Dano-Saxon*, was us'd in the Northern Parts, from the first Invasions of the *Danes*, to the *Norman Conquest*. There are still preserv'd, in some *Libraries*, two *Manuscript* Versions of the *Gospel* in this Language. The Third *Dialect* was made up of

A DISSERTATION on the

of the other two and the *Norman*. This *Dialect*, which was introduc'd chiefly in the Reigns of *Edward the Confessor*, and *William the Conqueror*, has admitted of great Alterations, by the Addition of abundance of *French* words, particularly, after *Henry II's* Accession to the Crown of *England*. They, who are ignorant of the *English Tongue*, wil not easily be made to believe, that a Mixture of so many Languages can have any Extraordinary *Beauties*. But the *English* assert, that their Tongue shou'd for that very reason, be the more *Beautiful* and *Expressive*, since they have adopted only the more *refin'd* Part of other Tongues, and rejected what is *rude* and *unpolish'd*. Be this as it will, they have a great Value for their own Language, and if a Foreigner may be allow'd to give his Opinion, I think very justly.

Sterling-Money.

Brady.

I shall conclude this Article with a word or two concerning the Name of *Sterling*, which is given to the *English Money*. Some are of Opinion that this Word comes from the Town of *Strivelinc* or *Sterling* in *Scotland*, where they pretend, but without any Authority, that the best and purest Money was formerly Coin'd. Others say, with much greater Probability, that *Sterling* is deriv'd from the Saxon Word, *Steore* which signifies *Rule* or *Standard*: that, according to this Opinion, *Sterling-Money* means no more than Money made according to a settled *Standard*. *Camden* and some others believed this Word was of a much more modern Date, and taken from certain *Flemish Workmen*, who in the Reign of King *John* were call'd into *England* to reduce the Money to its due Fineness, in which they were more expert than the *English*. As the People of that Country were term'd, *Easterlings*, because they liv'd *East-ward of England*, 'tis pretended that the Money they Coin'd, was call'd *Easterling* or *Sterling*, that is, *made by the Easterlings, or Flemish*, and consequently purer than what had been Coin'd before.

The End of the First PART of VOL. II.





THE
HISTORY
O F
ENGLAND.

By
MR DE RAPIN THOYRAS.

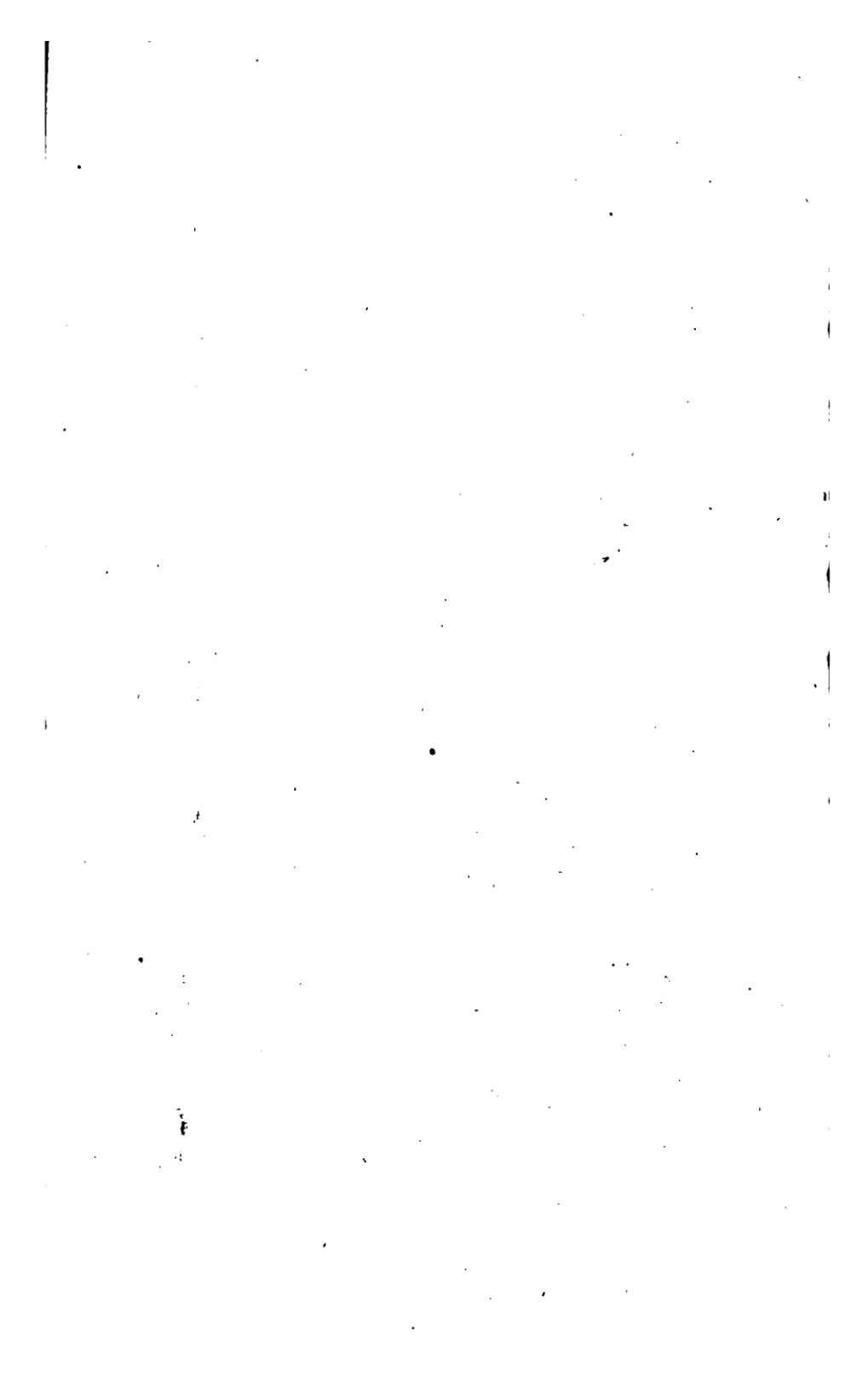
VOL. II. PART II.

From the NORMAN CONQUEST to the *Restoration* of the SAXON LINE. Containing the Reigns of WILLIAM the Conqueror, WILLIAM RUFUS, HENRY I. and King STEPHEN.

Done into *English* from the *French*, and Illustrated with Notes, by N. TINDAL, M.A.



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THE HISTORY of ENGLAND.

BOOK VI.

The Norman Line : From the Reign of WILLIAM the Conqueror, to the Death of King STEPHEN, containing the Space of about 88 Years. With the State of the CHURCH, during the said Space.

SECT. I.

I. WILLIAM I. SURNAMED the BASTARD, or CONQUEROR.



HEN one impartially considers the *Reflections*
Duke of Normandy's Expedition on the Duke of Normandy's Attempt upon the English.
against England, one is at a Loss which
to admire most, either the *Grounds*, or
the *Boldness*, or the *Success*, of his En-
terprise. In the first Place, one can't
but be surpris'd he should build his
Right upon so sandy a Foundation as the bare *Will* of King
Edward, of which it does not appear in History that he
ever offer'd to give the least Proof, or produce any Evi-
dence

dence. In the next Place, 'tis full as difficult to conceive, that this Prince, who was look'd upon as one of the most politick in his Time, shou'd resolve upon maintaining his pretended Right by Arms, in spite of all the Obstacles that conspir'd to divert him from his Purpose. Never Project seem'd more rashly formed, or with less Appearance of Success. The Forces of *Normandy* were not to be compar'd with those of *England*, neither had the Duke in the Country he undertook to conquer, any strong Holds, or Friends, whereon to found the least Hopes of accomplishing his Ends. Even after he had landed a powerful Army, not so much as a single Lord declar'd in his Favour. Nay, so far was he from reasonably expecting any Assistance from the *English*, that he cou'd not be ignorant, how well they stood affected to *Harold*. 'Tis true, some among them, out of a Sense of Justice and Equity, might not be pleas'd with the new King's usurping the Crown from Prince *Edgar*. But it never enter'd into their Thoughts to blame him for supplanting the Duke of *Normandy*, whose Pretensions they were not so much as acquainted with. They were so little inclin'd to set by the King they had elected, that on the contrary, they had just given him sensible Marks of their Fidelity, by their Zeal and Readiness in his Defence against the King of *Norway*. On the other Hand, the Obstructions Duke *William* had reason to expect from the neighbouring Princes, were enough to frighten him from his Design. Their Interest requir'd that instead of promoting his Enterprize, they should oppose his growing Power. The *French*, in particular, cou'd not without running counter to the most obvious Maxims of *Politicks*, forbear endeavouring to blast a Design, the Success whereof wou'd infallibly be very prejudicial to them. But supposing he cou'd have been sure that the Princes his Neighbours wou'd voluntarily shut their Eyes against their own Interest, how cou'd he hope to succeed, since the States of *Normandy* refus'd to assist him in an Undertaking which to them seem'd equally unjust and rash? Lastly, in the Execution of his Design, one is surpris'd to see, contrary to all Expectation, the greatest Difficulties insensibly vanisht

vanish before him, and the very Things which seem'd the most opposite to his Designs, help to bring them about. The States of *Normandy* refusing him the Assistance he stood in need of, private Persons voluntarily drain their Purses and furnish him with more Money than he cou'd have expected from the States. The Court of *France* lets him go on unmolested, and even suffers the *French* to aid him in procuring a Crown which might one Day render him equal to his Sovereign, or at least put him in a Condition to dispute his Superiority. All the rest of the neighbouring Princes strive who shou'd most forward a Design, the Successes whereof cannot but be fatal to them. He is assisted by the Earls of *Bretaign* and of *Anjou*, who a little before were his mortal Enemies. In a word, within the Space of a few Months, he has a numerous Army, a Thousand Transport-Ships, and Money in Abundance. Even *Harold's* late Victory over the King of *Norway* contributed as much as any one Thing to the Duke of *Normandy's* Success, tho' one wou'd think it shou'd have cut off all Hopes. In that Action *Harold* lost his best Troops, and rais'd Discontents among the rest, by not giving them a Share of the Spoils. In fine, that same Victory inspir'd him with a fatal Contempt of the *Normans*, which prov'd his Ruin. Had it not been for That, he wou'd have avoided coming to a Battle, according to his Brother's Advice, and by that means suffer'd the *Norman* Army to diminish daily in an Enemy's Country, where there was no possibility of being reinforc'd. And if afterwards the Duke, compell'd to fight at a Disadvantage, had been vanquish'd, what cou'd he have alledg'd to vindicate his Enterprize from Injustice and Rashness? But the Event has turn'd the Minds of Men from these Reflections, and determin'd the Historians to extol an Action, they wou'd infallibly have blam'd, had it not been attended with Success. Thus the Foundation whereon the Duke of *Normandy* built his Pretensions, the little Reason he had to flatter himself with the Hopes of succeeding in his Attemp^t, and the Ease wherewith he brought it about, equally deserve our Admiration. Add o all This, that by one single Battle he became Master of

a Country, which neither the *Danes*, nor the *Saxons*, nor the *Romans* themselves, were able to subdue till after Numberless Engagements, and the space of several Ages. All this obliges us to own, that he was guided by the Almighty Arm of him who is the only Giver of Victory, and who sets up and pulls down Kingdoms according to his good Pleasure. God no doubt was pleas'd to make use of this *Conqueror* as his Instrument to render the *English* Nation more Illustrious than it had ever been before. The *English*, hitherto almost unknown to the rest of the World, began after this *Revolution* to make a considerable Figure in *Europe*. It may be said, that this was the first Step by which *England* mounted to that Height of Grandeur and Glory we behold it in at present. This is what will evidently appear in the whole Course of this History. But since I am to begin with the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, it will not be improper to give some Account of this Prince, who was two and forty Years of Age at the time of the Battle of *Hastings*, and had been three and Thirty Years Duke of *Normandy*. It will be necessary therefore, before we enter upon his Reign, to consider by what Degrees divine Providence rais'd him to the Throne of *England*, which his Birth seem'd upon all Accounts to place him at a great Distance from.

*The Affairs
of Normandy
from Rollo
to William the
Bastard.*

Normandy, one of the largest and most considerable Provinces in *France*, was in Possession of the *Normans* ever since *Charles the Simple* had been forc'd to deliver it up to *Rollo the Dane*, the First Duke. This Prince and his immediate Successors, content with what they had acquir'd, were less sollicitous about enlarging their Territories, than about securing the Possession to their Descendents. By the means of numerous *Colonies* of their own Nation, who by reciprocal Marriages were incorporated with the Natives, they soon brought it about that the two Nations became one *People*, under the common Name of *Normans*. A Name given by the *French* to the Foreigners settled in *Neustria*, which from them was also call'd *Normandy*. The First Dukes made it their principal Care to gain the Affections of their Subjects, by securing to them, as far as lay

lay in their Power, the Sweets of Peace, and by governing them with Justice and Equity. By this prudent Conduct they not only destroy'd the Seeds of Rebellion, which might lurk in the Hearts of the antient Inhabitants, but also screen'd themselves from the secret Practices of the Kings of *France*, who cou'd not see without Regret so noble a Province torn from their Monarchy. Accordingly, when the *French*, at any favourable Juncture, attempted to recover it, they always found the Dukes of *Normandy* able to defend themselves by the Help of their own Forces, because they were assur'd of the People's Affections.

From *Rollo* to *William the Bastard* there were Seven Dukes, among whom *Richard II.*, who was the Fourth, was one of the most illustrious. His first Wife was *Judith of Bretaign*, by whom he had three Sons, *Richard*, *Robert*, and *William*. After the Death of *Judith*, he made a double Alliance with *Canute the Great*, by giving him his Sister *Emma* Widow to *Ethelred II. King of England*, and by taking himself *Estrith* Sister to that Prince. How honourable soever this Match might be to him, the Love he had entertain'd for a young Damsel call'd *Pavia*, caus'd him to divorce *Estrith* in order to marry his Mistress. By his Second Wife he had, *William Earl of Arques*, and *Mauger Archbishop of Roan*.

After the Death of this Prince, his Son *Richard III.* succeeded him, notwithstanding the Endeavours of his younger Brother *Robert* to supplant him. *Robert* not being able to accomplish his Designs, was forc'd to desist: or rather, as some affirm, he went a surer and a more ready way to work. 'Tis said he procur'd his Brother to be poison'd, who after a Reign of two Years, left him the Possession of the Dukedom, which he had so ardently wish'd for. Whether Duke *Robert's* Crime was never fully prov'd, or whether his just Government blotted out all Remembrance of it, he found the means to gain the Affections of his People at Home, by his Justice and Liberality, whilst his Valour procur'd him Respect from Abroad. By his Aid it was that *Henry I. King of France*, was put in Possession of the Throne, in spite of the Pretensions of
Robert

Robert his younger Brother, who was supported by a powerful Party. The Intrigues of Queen *Constance* their Mother, who espous'd the Interest of her youngest Son, having oblig'd *Henry* to demand the Assistance of the Duke of *Normandy*, he came to him at *Roan*, and obtain'd at first an Aid of five hundred Spear-Men. These were quickly follow'd by a more considerable Body of Troops, which the Duke led himself into *France*, where he plac'd *Henry* on the Throne, after he had compell'd the younger Brother to take up with *Burgundy*. *Henry*, full of Gratitude for this signal Piece of Service, protested he wou'd have it in eternal Remembrance; and to let him see he was in good Earnest, he annex'd to the Dutchy of *Normandy* the Cities of *Chaumont* and *Pontoise*, then in Possession of the Crown of *France*.

'Twill not be proper here to enter into the Particulars of the Wars Duke *Robert* carried on against some *Norman* Lords who had revolted, and against the Duke of *Bretany* who refus'd to do him Homage. 'Tis sufficient to say in a word, that he was successful in taming the Rebels, and in reducing the Duke of *Bretany* to his Allegiance. I have already mention'd his Design of endeavouring to have Justice done to his Cousins the Sons of *Ethelred* II, and how his Enterprize fell to the Ground; for which reason there is no need to say any thing more of that Matter.

It is hard to conceive, why this Prince, who was a Lover of his People, shou'd never think of marrying, tho' he might plainly foresee, that in case he died without Heirs, great Confusion and Troubles wou'd ensue. There were in *Normandy* several Branches of the *Ducal* Family, who might put in their Claims to the Dukedom if he died without Children. Consequently there was all the Probability in the World that their several Pretensions wou'd be the Occasion of a Civil War, which *Robert* might prevent by marrying. But notwithstanding this, he was resolv'd never to marry. One wou'd be apt to think that this Resolution of his was owing to his Insensibility for the fair Sex, had we not a Proof to the contrary, in his Passion for a young Damsel, with whose graceful Mien he was charm'd

charm'd as he saw her dancing. The Damsel, who was call'd *Arlotta* *, a Skinner's Daughter of *Falaise*, looking upon herself as extremely honour'd by the Duke's Addresses, readily yielded to his Sollicitations. 'Tis said that the first Night the King took her to his Bed, she dreamt that her Bowels were extended over all *Normandy* and *England*. This Dream was very naturally interpreted afterwards, if it be true that 'twas not invented after the Event.

Robert had by this Mistress a Son call'd *William*, of whom Chron. of 'tis related that the Moment he was born, having laid hold Norman-
dy. of some Straws, he held them so fast, that they were forc'd to unclinch his Fist before he wou'd let them go. This made the good Women there present, say, he wou'd one day prove a Great Acquirer, since he began so early. *Robert* had his young Son brought up with all imaginable Care, designing him for his Successor. But whilst he was laying out his pains in his Education, he took it in his head to go a Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. This Act of Devotion was look'd upon as the Effect of his Remorse for the Murder of the Duke his Brother, and of his Desire to attone for his Crime by this Kind of Penance. Be this as it will, before he sat out, he took all necessary Measures to secure the Succession to his Bastard Son. He was very sensible how difficult 'twou'd be for young *William* to get Possession, if the Normans were not prepar'd before-hand to acknowledge him. To this End, he summon'd the States of *Normandy*, and communicating to them his Design of going to the *Holy-Land*, conjur'd them, in case he shou'd never return more, to receive after his Death his young Son *William* for their Sovereign. The States did all that lay in their Power to divert the Duke from his Journey; but finding he was not to be prevail'd upon, they gave him their Promise with an Oath, that in Case any ill Accident shou'd befall him on the Road, they wou'd conform to his Will. To let him see they design'd to keep their Word, they swore Fealty to *William*, as the Presumptive Heir of the Duke his Father. This Affair being settled to *Robert's* Satisfaction,

* From whence 'tis said came the Word, *Marlot*.

Satisfaction, he appointed *Alain Duke of Bretaign*, his Relation and Vassal, *Seneschal of Normandy*, giving him Power to act, in his Absence, with an absolute Authority. After this he carried his Son to *Paris*, and deliver'd him into the Hands of the King of *France*, who took charge of his Education. Before he left the Court of *France*, he made young *William* do Homage to the King, as if he had been in actual Possession of *Normandy*.

The Absence of Duke *Robert* occasion'd some Troubles in his Dominions, which oblig'd the Duke of *Bretaign* to use some Severity and exert the Authority he was entrusted with. But whilst he was earnestly endeavouring to restore Peace and Tranquillity, he was taken off by Poison. This Accident was soon follow'd by a Report of the Duke's being dead on the Road. Notwithstanding the Uncertainty of this News, it was the Cause of Commotions so much the more dangerous, as there was Nobody in *Normandy* capable of appeasing them. They who had the Administration of Affairs in their Hands, were themselves engag'd in Factions, which had been forming ever since the Duke's Departure, and by that means they help'd to increase the Confusion.

Whilst things were in this ill State, some of the Duke's Train arriv'd, and confirm'd the News of his Death. Upon which several of the Principal Lords, descended from the antient Dukes, began to cabal openly how to exclude the *Bastard* from the Succession. Plausible Pretences were not wanting: but the States declar'd, that they cou'd not without the Guilt of Perjury break thro' the Oath they had bound themselves by. The Resolution being taken of acknowledging *William* for Sovereign, Ambassadors were dispatch'd to the King of *France* to demand the young Prince. Ever since *Henry* had been inform'd of the Duke of *Normandy*'s Death, the Shame of doing an ill Action, and the Desire of becoming Master of *Normandy*, had kept him in Suspence. He had been in hopes that the Troubles in that Dukedom wou'd turn to his Advantage, and he had begun to lay his Schemes accordingly. However, when he found the States of *Normandy* had declar'd in favour

of

of Duke *William*, he thought proper to put off the Execution of his Designs, 'till a more convenient Season. He resolv'd therefore to conceal his Intentions, and to send Home the young Prince. As soon as Duke *William* came to *Roan*, the States swore Fealty to him, and gave him for Governour *Raoul de Gace* Constable of *Normandy*.

The Troubles were not allay'd by the Arrival of the new Duke. The Lords, who laid claim to the *Ducal Crown*, cou'd not find in their Hearts to drop their Pretensions. They had a Notion that the preferring a Bastard before Them, was doing them a manifest Injustice. But as Chron. they, who held the Reins of the Government, were Men Norm. of great Prudence and Interest, and were look'd upon as supported by *France*, the *Claimants* durst not openly avow their Designs. In the mean Time, King *Henry* was on Fire to take the Advantage of these Dissentions. The Death of Duke *Robert* had blotted out all Remembrance of the signal Service that Prince had done him. In fine, not being able to withstand the Temptation any longer, he went on a sudden, and laid Siege to the Castle of *Tilleres*, to which he had some Pretensions. This Place being very strong and well stor'd with Ammunition, wou'd have held out a long Time, if the Duke's Ministers had not order'd the Governour to surrend're on Condition the Castle shou'd be demolish'd. *Henry* very readily agreed to these Terms, and commanded the Walls to be actually raz'd: but on Pretense of some ambiguous Clause in the Articles of Capitulation, he order'd them to be immediately rebuilt. This good Beginning putting him in hopes of succeeding in his Enterprize, he seizes upon *Argentan*. And then marching to *Falaise*, he became Master of the Town without any Difficulty. He wou'd have made a farther Progress, if *Raoul de Gace*, having drawn together a powerful Army, had not compell'd him to retire. His Retreat gave the *Constable* an Opportunity of retaking *Falaise*, the *French* not having had time to lay in any Stores.

As soon as the Lords, who pretended a Right to the Dukedom, saw that the King of *France*, instead of protecting the young Duke, was making War against him,

Malm.

they began to stir in their own respective Causes. The First that appear'd, was *Roger de Tresney*, Standard-bearer of *Normandy*, descended from an Uncle of *Rollo's*. This Lord, who had amass'd great Riches in *Spain*, where he had for many Years been fighting against the *Saracens*, being return'd Home during Duke *Robert's* Absence, had put himself at the Head of one of the Factions that disturb'd the State. As soon as he was inform'd of that Prince's Death, he form'd a Design of seizing upon the Dukedom. But the Apprehension he was in of the King of *France's* assisting Duke *William*, prevented him from pursuing his Project at that Time. But his Fears being remov'd by the Proceedings of King *Henry*, he drew some Troops together, imagining the Duke's Forces wou'd be wholly employ'd against *France*. But he was quickly after defeated and slain by *Roger de Beaumont*, who commanded the Duke's Army.

William, Earl of *Arques*, Son to *Richard II.* by *Pavia*, was not discourag'd by this Example. As he found he was supported by the King of *France* who had set him at Work, he was so hardy as to send a Defiance to the Duke. But the Duke heading his Army in Person, press'd him so vigorously, that he compelled him to shut himself up in the City of *Arques*, where he besieg'd him. *Henry*, who had engag'd the Earl in this Enterprize, thought he was oblig'd in Honour to raise the Siege. To this End he march'd into *Normandy*, where he received two Overthrows, and was constrain'd at last to abandon the Rebel, who upon the City's being taken was sent into Exile.

Chron. of
Normand.
Mezeray.

Guy of Burgundy, Grandson to Duke *Richard II.* by his Daughter, was the next that appear'd on the Stage. He had concert'd his Measures, so well, that he was within an Ace of surprising the Duke, who was then at *Valognes* without any Guard, being entirely ignorant of what was practising against him. But a certain *Fool*, whom the Conspirators did not mistrust, having heard their Design, travell'd all Night to give the Duke Notice of it, who had but just Time to put on his Cloaths, in order to post away to *Falaise*. What Speed soever he might make, he was so closely

closely pursued, that he cou'd not have escap'd, his Horse not being able to carry him thither if he had not been assisted by a Gentleman, whom he accidentally met on the Road. This Conspiracy seem'd to him so dangerous, that he applied to the King of *France* for Aid, *Henry*, either out of Generosity, or for some other unknown Reasons, not being willing to suffer the young Prince to be oppres'd, brought some Troops to his Assistance, which enabled him to give his Enemy Battle. *Guy* being vanquish'd and taken Prisoner, Duke *William* by an Act of Generosity, which redounded no less to his Honour than the Victory, very freely gave him his Pardon.

William Guerland, Earl of *Mortagne*, and another *William*, Earl of *Eu*, Son to a natural Brother of *Richard II*, had a mind also to attempt the dispossessing of the young Duke. But being prevented by his Expedition, they were senten'd to perpetual Banishment.

The Vigour and Conduct of Duke *William* during all these Troubles, made his Subjects entertain great Hopes of Him. His Neighbours began also to look upon him as a Prince of distinguish'd Merit, and as one who might in Time find them Employment. The King of *France* in particular grew extremely jealous of him, and blam'd himself mightily for assisting him against *Guy of Burgundy*; but to make amends for that Over-sight, he rais'd him up a fresh Enemy, the Earl of *Anjou*; however he assisted him at first only privately and under-hand. Afterwards he openly espous'd his Quarrel, and made a fierce War against the Duke, which lasted several Years, but in the End turn'd to the Disadvantage of the two Allies. Duke *William* having gain'd two successive Battles, they sued for Peace; which the King of *France* cou'd not obtain without delivering up the Castle of *Tillieres*, which he had got Possession of during the Duke's *Minority*.

It happen'd during this War that as the Duke was besieging *Alençon*, some of the Inhabitants came upon the Walls, with Skins in their Hands, by way of Reproach for the Baseness of his Birth, his Mother being a Skinner's Daughter. He was so nettled at this Insult, that he swore

by

by the *Splendor of God*, his usual Oath, he wou'd be reveng'd. Some time after becoming Master of the Town, he made good his Oath, by putting out the Eyes, and cutting off the Hands and Feet of two and twenty of the insolent Burghers.

Henry died soon after this War. He was succeeded by *Philip I.* his Son, a Minor under the Guardianship of *Baldwin*, the fifth Earl of *Flanders*, who had just married his Daughter *Matilda* to the Duke of *Normandy*. The Relation the *Regent* stood in to the King as his *Pupil*, and to the Duke as his Son-in-law, made him take all necessary Precautions to keep up between the two Princes a good Understanding, which lasted many Years.

Duke *William* took this Opportunity to extinguish all Remains of Rebellion among his Subjects. He banish'd great Numbers, who, for the most Part, retir'd into *Pouille*, to one *Robert Guiscard* a *Norman* Gentleman, who made a great Figure then in that Country. The Duke's Relations by his Father's Side giving him the most Disturbance, he oblig'd almost all of them to quit *Normandy*. Their Estates being confiscated, he inrich'd with them his Mother's Relations, who 'till then were but in mean Circumstances. *Robert*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, had the Earldom of *Mortagne* given him, which *William Guerland* had forfeited. *Odo*, his Brother, partook also of his Bounty, and was moreover made Bishop of *Bayeux*. Two of their Sisters were married to the Earls of *Anjale* and of *Albemarle*.

Mauger his Uncle, Archbishop of *Roan*, had not only a Hand in all the Plots against the Duke, but had proceeded so far as to excommunicate him, on Pretence of the too near Relation between him and *Matilda* his Wife *. As soon as the Duke was got over all his Troubles, he resolv'd upon being reveng'd on this Prelate. To this End, having assembled all the Bishop's of *Normandy* at *Lisieux*, he had him accus'd before them of several Misdemeanours, particularly, his selling the *consecrated Chalices* to expend the Money

* * She was his first Cousin, being Daughter to *Eleanora* Duke *William's* Father's Sister.

Money in Luxury. Upon these Accusations, supported with all the Interest the Duke cou'd make, *Manger* was Solemnly deprived and *Maurillus* elected in his Room.

After *Duke William* had thus brought under, or dispers'd all his Opposers, the Posture of his Affairs was such, that he might have spent his Days in profound Tranquillity, having Nothing to fear either at Home or A-broad. But as he was naturally of a covetous and ambitious Temper, this Tranquillity, which procur'd him Nothing but what he already enjoy'd, was far from contenting him. 'Twas in all probability with a view to some further Acquisitions, that he went and paid a Visit to King *Edward* his Cousin, who had no Children, and who perhaps had given him some Hopes of being his Heir.

However this be, 'tis generally believ'd, that *Edward* promis'd him, whilst at the Court of *England*, to make a ^{Hoveden.} *Will* in his Favour. But altho' this *Will* never appear'd, and tho' the Duke never produc'd any Evidence for it, notwithstanding, according to all the Historians, he made it the Grounds of his Expedition against *England*. And yet in the *Manifesto* publish'd upon his Landing, he says not a Word of this same *Will* or *Promise*, of which he cou'd not give the least Proof. We have seen, in the foregoing Book, what *Duke William* did to support his pretended Right till the Battle of *Hastings*. It is time now to see, how by the Success of that Day he gain'd the Crown of *England*, and the Methods he took to establish himself on the Throne in spite of all Opposition.

It is easy to conceive, what a Consternation the *English* were in, after the Loss of the Battle of *Hastings*, and the Death of their King. They were destitute of Men, Arms, and Ammunition; but chiefly they were without a Head to command them, and take care of their present Wants. On the other Hand, the victorious *Normans* were at no great Distance from *London*, which was the only Place, where necessary Measures cou'd be taken to Will, Pic- prevent the Calamities the Kingdom was threatned with. tay. *Harold's Sons* were fled into *Ireland*. *Edgar Atheling* was too young and besides of too little a Soul, to give them

any Hopes of Assistance in this their pressing Necessity. 'Tis true, the Earls, *Morckard* and *Edwin* were still alive, and were retir'd to *London* with some Part of the fugitive Army. But in order to take proper Measures on such an Occasion, it wou'd have requir'd more time, than the Conqueror, in all Probability, wou'd afford them. Thus the Affairs of the *English* were in a terrible Confusion, all the Methods they propos'd to free themselves from Danger, being clogg'd with insurmountable Difficulties. On the other side, the Duke of *Normandy*, desirous of taking the Advantage of the Terror of the *English*, was already on his March towards *London*, that he might, by his Approach, increase the Trouble and Confusion the whole City was in. But on a sudden he alter'd his Resolution. He consider'd that altho' the Loss of a Battle might have thrown the *English* into Astonishment, yet there was no Appearance of their being entirely dispirited at it; that their Case not being as yet desperate, they might easily bring into the Field fresh Armies, and try several times more the Fortune of War; that provided they did so, and he shou'd receive but one Overthrow, he had no-where to retreat to, nor any Opportunity of sending for Succours from *Normandy*. These Reflections made him resolve to lay Siege to *Dover*, before he advanc'd any farther, in order to secure a Retreat in Case of Necessity, and a Port from whence he might easily send for Supplies from *Normandy*. This cautious Proceeding, even after his Victory, is a clear Evidence of the Boldness, or rather Rashness of his Enterprise, since, had he been worsted, he wou'd not have had a single Spot in the Kingdom to retire to. He march'd therefore directly for *Dover*, a Place naturally very strong, but was become more so by the great Number of *English* Officers and Soldiers, who had fled thither for Refuge after the Battle. For this Reason, it might have held out a long Siege; but their Consternation was so great, that they surrender'd in a few Days. As soon as the Duke was in Possession, he order'd the Town to be more strongly fortified, and spent Eight Days there, to forward

ward the Works. After which he march'd for London.

We are told by some that the Duke, as he was marching at the Head of his Army, saw at a distance a great Multitude of People coming towards him with each a Branch or Bough in his Hand, who, looking like a Moving Forest, at first somewhat alarm'd him. But his Surprise ceas'd, when he found they were the Deputies of the County of Kent attended with great Crouds of People, who were come to assure him of the Submission of the County, and to demand the Preservation of their antient Privileges. They, who have given us an Account of this Adventure add, that the Duke receiv'd them very graciously and granted their Request. But as *William of Poictiers*, who was then with the Duke, makes no mention of this Fact, there is Reason to think it all a Forgery. *

Whilst the Duke lay before Dover, or was on his March towards the *Thames*, the Trouble and Confusion at London every Moment increas'd by reason of the Diversity of Opinions, which prevented them from coming to any Resolution. Some were for submitting to the Duke without Loss of time : Others thought that before they did so, 'twou'd be necessary to enter into a Treaty with him, in order to secure the Privileges not only of the City, but of the whole Kingdom. Some endeavour'd to make appear, that Matters were not come to Extremity, that the Winter, which was already begun, might give them time to concert Measures for their Defence ; and with this View they labour'd heartily to get *Edgar Atheling* plac'd on the Throne. *Edwin* and *Morckard* were at the Head of this last Party. But how great soever their Credit might be, 'twas not in their Power to carry their Design. All they

* This Story is repeated by *William Thorn* (See *X Scriptores*) from a Manuscript History of the Monks of St. *Augustin's Canterbury*, written by *Thomas Spot*, who in all probability invented it to magnify the Valour of their Abbot and of the *Kentish-men*. *Tyrrel* observes the improbability of it from the *Green Boughs* in the beginning of *November*. *Somner* has also in his *Treatise of Gavel-kind* confuted this Relation.

*The Duke
approaches
London.*

cou'd prevail upon the Citizens to do, was to shut up their Gates against the Duke, till such time as they fix'd upon some Resolution. In the mean while, the Duke approaching the City, encamp'd in *Southwark*, separated from *London* by the *Thames*. He was in hopes his Approach wou'd oblige the *Londoners* to a voluntary Submission, and with this thought he lay still some Days. This Proceeding had a quite contrary Effect to what he expected. *Morckard* and *Edwin* took this Opportunity to spirit up the People to take Arms and sally out in order to surprise the *Normans*, who were on the other side the Bridge. This Sally, which was easily repulsed, made the Duke sensible, he must go another way to work, and vigorously press this great City, which he cou'd scarce hope to be Master of, if he gave the Inhabitants time to recover out of their Consternation. However he was at a great Loss what to do ; and we shall not wonder at it, if we consider, that altho' he had gain'd a Battle, he was still very far from having attain'd to his Ends. He was in possession but of one single Castle, situated in the utmost Bounds of the Kingdom. All the Rest of the Country was against him, and there were several remote Counties, where the *English* might draw an Army together without Molestation. There was no advancing towards the Middle of the Kingdom and leaving *London* behind him, without being expos'd to manifest Danger, and having all Communication with *Dover* cut off, which was so absolutely necessary for him. On the other Hand, 'twas hardly possible for him to carry on the Siege of *London* during the Winter. Besides, the Situation of the City wou'd have necessarily oblig'd him to leave a considerable Body of Troops on the South-side of the *Thames*, which wou'd very much have weaken'd his Army. In fine, a Siege of that Importance, which in all likelihood, wou'd have lasted several Months, wou'd have given the *English* time to come to themselves, and to raise Armies in other Parts of the Kingdom : By which means he wou'd have been under a Necessity of conquering *England* Inch by Inch, as the *Romans*, *Saxons*, and *Danes* had been. But he was in no condition

condition to maintain so tedious a War. He had therefore properly but one Way to compass his Ends; which was to lay hold of the Confusion the *Londoners* were in, and oblige them, rather by Terror than Force, to submit to his Laws. With this view it was, that he posted himself at *Wallingford*, from whence he continually sent out Detachments to ravage the Counties adjoining to *London*, in order to terrify the Citizens, to cut them off from Provisions, and prevent them from laying in any Stores. At the same time, he caus'd *Southwark* to be reduc'd to Ashes, to let them see what they were to expect, if they obstinately persisted in the Defence of the City. But perhaps all his Efforts wou'd have avail'd but little, if the Clergy, who were at *London*, had not broken all the Measures, *Morckard* and *Edwin* wou'd have taken to crush his Designs.

The Aim of these two Lords and some other zealous Assertors of their Country's Liberty, was to place *Edgar Atheling* on the Throne. They represented to the People, that the only way to avoid the present Danger, was in the first place to come out of that State of Anarchy they were in; That, whilst there was No-body, who had a Right to command, it was impossible to take any just Measures to resist the *Normans*, who were already at their Gates; But that as soon as there shou'd be a King, he wou'd send Orders into all Parts of the Kingdom, to levy Troops, and that the Duke of *Normandy* wou'd then find to his Cost, that the gaining a single Battle was not sufficient to render him Master of *England*; But that, in Case they continued inactive, they cou'd expect nothing but total Ruin and the Kingdom's falling under a Foreign Yoke; In a word, that Prince *Edgar* had an incontestable Right to the Crown of *England*, and they cou'd not refuse to put him in Possession of it, without being guilty of great Injustice. The Majority of the People clos'd in with the Earl's Proposals; but the Clergy openly rejected them, not judging it proper to put their Estates and Tranquillity to the Hazard of a War. *Edgar* was scarce able to protect them. On the other Hand, the Duke of *Normandy*

Morckard
and Edwin
endeavour
to place
Edgar on
the Throne.

The Clergy
opposethem.

Normandy had the Name of a Religious Prince, and of one that was well-dispos'd to the *Church*, and his Enterprise had receiv'd the Pope's Approbation. This was enough to oblige all the Clergy, who were then at *London* with the two Archbishops at their Head, to cabal among the People in order to hinder *Edgar's* Election. They were in hopes that their Submission to the Duke of *Normandy* wou'd turn to a better Account than a War, which, in all Appearance, wou'd be of a long continuance, in case a Resolution was taken to resist him. But however this be, or whatever their Motive might be, they made so strenuous an Opposition, that *Edwin* and *Morckard* despairing of bringing about their Designs, retir'd into the North, perswaded as they were, that 'twou'd be a long time first before the Duke wou'd be able to follow them thither. They were no sooner gone, but *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, repair'd to the Duke who was then at *Berkhamstead*. He was soon follow'd by *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, and at last by Prince *Edgar*, who suffer'd himself to be guided by their Direction. The Duke receiv'd them in a very civil and courteous Manner. He granted all their Requests, among which there were some that had Respect to the whole Nation, and 'tis even affirm'd, he confirm'd his Promises by a solemn Oath. 'Tis not known what the Terms were these Prelates obtain'd from the Duke: but 'tis to be presum'd that the *Church's* Interests were not forgotten. Be this as it will, they swore Fealty to the Duke, as if he had been already their Sovereign, and induced Prince *Edgar* to do the same. Their Example having brought over several Persons of Distinction, in a few Days the *Londoners* found themselves destitute of the Assistance of those they wou'd chiefly have relied upon, in case they had determin'd to stand upon their Defense.

The two Archbishops and Prince Edgar submit to the Duke.

The Duke approaches London.

In the mean time, as the Citizens were still in Suspence, and as the becoming Master of the Metropolis, before the rest of the Kingdom had taken any Resolution, wou'd decide the Busines for the Duke, he made nearer Approaches to the City, as if he intended to besiege it. Upon which

which the Magistrates, finding they were in no Condition to defend a City, where all was in Confusion and Despair, resolv'd to go out and meet him, in order to present him with the Keys of the Gates. He gave them a very favourable Reception, and 'tis said, promis'd, with an Oath, to preserve their Privileges. They had gone too far to draw back. The Duke in his whole Conduct letting them see, he aspir'd to something more, they thought it wou'd be their best way to anticipate his Wishes, since 'twas not in their Power to hinder the Execution of them. To this Purpose, after they had held a Consultation with the Prelates and Lords, who had already submitted, they unanimously resolv'd to place the Duke on the Throne. Accordingly, they all went to him in a Body, and made him an offer of the Crown, telling him, *They had always been accustomed to live under Kingly Government, and they knew no one more worthy than him to govern them.* The Duke, forgetting on this Occasion, or pretending to forget, that he had enter'd the Kingdom in an armed Manner, on account of the Claim he laid to the Crown, shew'd at first some Doubt, whether he shou'd accept of that Honour. He told them, the Offer they made him was of so great Importance, that he desir'd, before he resolv'd, to advise with his Friends. The Result of which was, that he ought by no means to refuse the Dignity, voluntarily offer'd him by the English, since by so doing, he wou'd put himself out of a Condition to reward his Followers, who had engag'd in his Cause, purely out of Hopes of placing him on the Throne. They entreated him therefore not to reject what Providence had been so kind as to throw in his way, and what had cost him so much Blood already. The Duke, easily yielding to their agreeable Sollicitations, *He accepts return'd in Answer to the English Lords and Magistrates of it.* London, That he was ready to consent to their Request. Accordingly, he accepted the Crown, as their Gift, and tacitely acknowledg'd a Right of Election in the People of England, tho' the Manner in which he caus'd himself to be elected, was no great sign of his being perfwaded they had that Right. And indeed, what Authority cou'd the

*The Keys
are deli-
ver'd to
him.*

*The Crown
is offer'd
him.*

the Magistrates of *London* and a few Bishops and Lay-Lords have to dispose of the Crown without the Concurrence of the Estates? Notwithstanding this essential Flaw in his Election, the Duke appointed *Christmas-day* following for the Ceremony of his Coronation. In the Interim, as this Solemnity was to be perform'd at *London*, the Inhabitants whereof he suspected, he order'd a Fortres to be run up in Haste, which he garrison'd with *Normans*.

His Coronation.

Stigand, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was then suspend-ed by the Pope, as an Intruder into that *See*, in the Room of *Robert*, who was never *Canonically* depriv'd. But notwithstanding this, he exercis'd the *Archiepiscopal* Functions, the *English* not being as yet convinc'd, that the Pope's Power was of so large an Extent as he wou'd have it. However, the Duke, who lay under an Obligation to the Pope, and besides was willing to avoid the Objections that might be made against his Coronation, if perform'd by a suspended Bishop, wou'd not receive the Crown from the Hands of *Stigand*. *Aldred* therefore, Archbishop of *York*, was appointed for this Ceremony. Before he set the Crown on his Head, the Archbishop, addressing to the *English*, asked them, whether they wou'd have the Duke of *Normandy* for their King? All the People having consented by their Acclamations, the Bishop of *Constance* put the same Question to the *Normans*, who answer'd in the same manner as the *English*. This last Circumstance evidently makes appear that the Duke had then resolv'd to make the *English* and *Normans* but one and the same People. Otherwise there wou'd have been no Occasion to ask the Consent of the *Normans*, to make him King of *England*. What follow'd plainly show'd that this was his real Intention. The Archbishop of *York*, continuing the Ceremony, plac'd the Duke on the Throne, and administred to him the Oath, usually taken by the *Saxon* Kings. The Substance of the Oath was, That he wou'd protec^t the *Church* and its *Ministers*: That he wou'd govern the Nation with equity; That he wou'd enact just Laws, and cause them to be strictly ob-serv'd;

Takes the usual Oath.

Serv'd; and that he wou'd forbid all Rapines and unjust Judgments. Malmesbury adds, that he promis'd to behave himself mercifully towards his Subjects, and govern the English and Normans by the same Laws. If this Historian does not deceive us, it may be infer'd from this last Article, that this Prince had already determin'd to settle the Normans in England. There are some Writers however that assure us, King William took no Oath at all, having refus'd to have his Hands tied up by those whom he had vanquish'd. But in all appearance they are in the wrong. King William had accepted of the Crown as a Gift, and consequently he had no Reason to dispense with the usual Oath. In the next Place, it can't be said that any but the Londoners had acknowledg'd him for King. All the Rest of the Kingdom being still to conquer, what Probability is there that a Prince of his Abilities, shou'd at such a Conjunction, let the English see he design'd to rule them with an Arbitrary Sway. In fine, tho' he has the Surname of Conqueror given him, yet is it certain, that he never openly pretended to posseſs the Crown by Right of Conquest, but on the contrary, he was extremely careful to avoid having his Title ever clearly made out.

Among all the lucky Turns, which contrary to all Appearance, King William met with in the Execution of his Undertaking, that which I am going to relate, is one of the most surprising. He had indeed gain'd a Battle, which had given him an Opportunity of approaching London; and altho' he cou'd scarce have taken that City, if the Burghers and the Rest of the Kingdom wou'd but have done their Duty, the Gates had been open'd to him, and the Crown set on his Head. But as he was crown'd without the Advice and Consent of the whole Nation besides, he seem'd to have Work enough still to go thro' with the Conquest of a Country, which had withstood, for Ages together, the Arms of the Romans, Saxons, and Danes. And yet as soon as it was known that he had been crown'd at London, he was every where acknowledg'd for King, without any one's offering to dispute with him

the Possession of a Crown, to which 'twas not so much as known by what Right or Title he cou'd possibly lay Claim. In all Probability, if the *English* had resolv'd to elect a King of their own Nation, whether *Edgar* or any other, King *William* wou'd have still found many Difficulties to get over. Let us suppose for a Moment, that this elected King had drawn together an Army in some Place at a Distance from *London*, what a Perplexity wou'd King *William* have been in? He cou'd not have remov'd from *London* and *Dover*, without a manifest Hazard of losing the Capital City; neither cou'd he have staid at *London* without giving the Enemy's Army time to grow to a great Head. The bare mention of this Consideration is sufficient to let us see how extremely lucky 'twas for the *Conqueror* to meet with no Opposition. The Reader will, of his own Accord, reflect on a thousand other Rubbs King *William* wou'd have found in his way, if the *English* had determin'd, even after the Battle of *Hastings*, to make a vigorous stand. Most certainly, the more one considers this Enterprise, the more one finds something Extraordinary, I had almost said, Supernatural, in it.

1067.
*The King
distributes
Harold's
Treasures.*

W. Poit.

*The Cities
and Cor-
porations
make him
Presents.*

The first thing the New King did after his Coronation, was to seize on the Treasure, *Harold* had laid up at *Winchester*. He distributed Part of it among the principal Officers of his Army, and Part he bestow'd on the *Churches* and *Monastryes*, in order to gain the Reputation of a Pious and Religious Prince. The Pope had also a share, whether he had lent the King any Mony, or the King was willing to show his Gratitude for the Favours he had receiv'd from him, when he embark'd in his Enterprise. At the sametime, he sent to *Rome* the late King's Standard, as a sort of Homage to the *Holy See*, and as a Testimony that the Conquest of *England* was undertaken with the Pope's Approbation. *Harold's* Treasures being thus distributed, there was necessity of thinking upon Ways and Means to fill the New King's Coffers. To this End, it was intimated to the Cities and Corporations and most wealthy of the Subjects that it wou'd not be amiss to gain the Good-will of their New Master by making

making him some Present. Every one having chearfully agreed to the Propofal, the Pretents brought the King in a very considerable Sum.

The Moderation of the King towards the *English* in W. Poit. the Beginning of his Reign, gave them Room to hope, they were going to enjoy solid Happiness under the Government of a Prince, who seem'd to have their Interests at Heart. He exhorted the principal Officers of his Army to treat the vanquish'd with the Moderation due from one Christian to another. He entreated them to refrain from all Kinds of Insults towards the *English*, least by their Injuries, they shou'd provoke them to take up Arms. As for the inferior Officers and Soldiers, he publish'd severe Edicts against such as shou'd violate the Chastity of the Women, or give the least Subject of Complaint to the Natives. After this, he confirm'd by a publick Edict the People's Privileges, and all the Promises he had made upon that score. If we were to judge of Princes by their *Manifesto's*, or by the Expressions in their Edicts, we shou'd be apt to imagine, they always made Justice and Equity the sole Rule of their Conduct. But it happens but too frequently that their Actions ill-correspond with their Words. These sort of *Publick Acts* seldom fail however of producing a present Effect, which is generally the only End propos'd. King William's found the *English* dispos'd to trust to his Magnificent Promises. They were so far from taking any Measures for the Preservation of their Liberties, that they suffer'd themselves to be carried away with this seeming Indulgence. These happy Beginnings made them believe that the *Conqueror*, in imitation of *Canute the Great*, who had behav'd in the same Manner, wou'd do his utmost Endeavours to gain the Affections of the People, that he might enjoy his Conquest in Peace and Tranquillity.

How great a Regard foever the King show'd for the *English*, he cou'd not forbear being under some Mistrust on their Account, perfwaded as he was that their Submission proceeded rather from Fear than Good-will. A few Days after his Coronation he retired from London to

1067.

Berking, not daring to stay in that great City, whose Fidelity he had some Suspicion of. But as he was hardly any more secure of the Rest of the Nation, he plac'd strong Garrisons in *Hastings*, *Dover*, and *Winchester*, to prevent the *English* from having any Thoughts of shaking off the Yoke he had just laid upon them. These Precautions of his had no ill Effect on their Minds. They consider'd them as absolutely necessary, in the Beginning of so great a Revolution, and were not at all alarm'd at them. On the contrary, They who had hitherto refus'd to acknowledge the New King, came and submitted to him in Crowds: *Edwin* and *Morchar*, who had begun to concert Measures for the Defence of, their Country, dropp'd all their Schemes. As they were convinc'd of the Sincerity of the King, as well as the rest of their Countrymen, they went and swore Fealty to him at *Berking*. He omitted nothing that might contribute to the keeping up these good Dispositions in them. He not only assur'd them of his Protection, but even in their Presence conferr'd upon Prince *Edgar* large Possessions, who was the Idol of the *English*, and generally stil'd *England's Darling*.

*Founding
Battle-Ab-
bey.*

M. Patis.

The Victory of *Hastings* redounded too much to the King's Glory for him not to transmit the Memory of it to Posterity. With this view, he laid the Foundations of a Church and Abbey, in the very Place where *Harold* was slain, and order'd that when they shou'd be finish'd, the Church shou'd be dedicated to St *Martin*, and the Monastery call'd *Battle-Abbey* *. Tho' the Desire of having the Soul of *Harold* and his own pray'd for, was made the Pretence of founding this *Religious House*, yet in all probability the Love of Glory had no less a share in it than Devotion. The three first Months of his Reign pass'd in this manner to the mutual Satisfaction of the

* In this Abbey was kept an antient List of all the Noble Families that came over with King *William*; it was call'd *Battle Abbey-Roll*, of which *Stow* and *Hallingshead* have giving us Copies tho' with some little Difference.

the *English* and *Normans*. The Former believ'd they were no great Losers by the late Revolution, and the Latter liv'd in hopes, the King wou'd make good the Promises he had made them, when they engag'd in his Service.

King William's cautious Proceedings having procur'd him an universal Submission, he thought his Happiness wou'd not be complete, unless he had the Satisfaction of going to *Normandy* and appearing there in his new Grandeur. This Journey was not only unnecessary, but seemingly very dangerous, in the Beginning of an Empire establish'd by Arms. He imagin'd however he shou'd be able to prevent all Revolts during his Absence by these two Means. First by placing strong Garrisons of *Normans* in all the Castles. Secondly, by carrying along with him such of the *English* Lords, as he most suspected. Of this Number were Prince *Edgar*, *Stigand*, *Morcar*, *Edwin*, *Waltheoff* Son of *Sinward* formerly Earl of *Northumberland*, with several others of the Prime Nobility. These Lords were not over-pleas'd with the Honour he did them, being sensible he carried them with him but as so many Hostages, and to add to the Glory of his Triumph. However they were forc'd to comply, for fear of giving him Occasion to suspect them by an unseasonable Opposition to his Will. Before he left *England*, he committed the Government of the ^{He appoints} *two Re-*
Kingdom to his Brother *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux* and *gents.*

William Fitz-Osborn. There was no End of the rejoicings among his old Subjects upon his Arrival in *Normandy*. He spent his *Christmas** at *Fescamp*, where the French Ambassador **, attended with a numerous Retinue of Nobles, came to congratulate him, in his Master's Name, upon his new Dignity. On this Occasion, the King affected to appear in the Eyes of the French, with all

* Rapin must be mistaken, it cou'd not be his *Christmas* but *Easter*, since he went over in *March*, and return'd again to *England* in the Beginning of the Winter following.

** *Rodolph* the Potent Father-in-law to the King of *France*.

1067. all the Magnificence, he thought capable of setting off the Lustre of his Glory. He pass'd the Rest of the Winter in Normandy, where he seem'd to have forgotten his *New*, amidst the Acclamations of his *Old*, Subjects.

The Regents opp'ress the People.
Vital.
Malm.
Fl. Wor.

Gemet.

Edric's Revolt.

Hoved.

The King returns.

Whilst he was giving the *Normans* Marks of his Affection by his stay among them, his Absence prov'd fatal to *England*. *Odo* his Brother and *William Fitz-Osborn*, whom he had left Regents, very indiscreetly abus'd the Authority he had entrusted them with. Wholly taken up in enriching themselves by all manner of Means, they were so far from protecting the *English* who made their Complaints to them, that they not only suffer'd them to be harraisd by others, but they themselves oppres'd them by continual Acts of Tyranny. To see these two Regents proceed with so little Circumspection, one wou'd have been apt to think, they had Orders to stir up the People to revolt, on purpose to make them incur the Punishment. The most Prudent however kept to their Allegiance, being perswaded that the King, at his Return, wou'd rectify these Disorders. But others that were more Impatient were of Opinion that they ought to take the Advantage of his Absence, to attempt the Recovery of their Liberty. The *Kentishmen* were the First that led the way. They call'd in to their Assistance *Eustace* Earl of *Boloign*, who endeavour'd to surprise *Dover* Castle. But not succeeding in his Attempt, as he was in hopes to have done, he retir'd to his Ships, leaving the *Kentishmen* to the Mercy of the Regents, who treated them very severely.

Notwithstanding this, *Edric*, an *English* Lord, to whom Historians have given the Surname of *Forester*, took up Arms in the County of *Hereford*, and barbarously us'd all the *Normans* that fell into his Hands. News of this being brought the King, he immediately embark'd for *England*, committing the Government of *Normandy* to *Matilda* his Wife, and *Robert* his eldest Son. His Return appeas'd the Storm his Absence had rais'd, but these two Attempts gave him so great a Suspicion of all the *English* in General, that he began from that time to lool up-

1067.

on them as so many secret Enemies, who sought an Opportunity to revolt. This Opinion of His was not without Grounds. When one considers his Temper, and the State of the *English* with respect to him, 'tis easy to see, that it was hardly possible there shou'd be that mutual Confidence between them which wou'd have been so necessary to their common Tranquillity. The King was naturally Mistrustful and Rigid. On the other hand, his great Armament had run him vastly in Debt. Besides he lay under an Obligation of liberally rewarding the Officers who had engag'd in his Service, and all this was to be done at the Expence of the *English*. To this may be added, that he was naturally covetous, greedy of having a great deal of Money, not to expend but to hoard it up. In fine, his Partiality to his own Nation was excessive, and prevented him very often from giving Ear to the Complaints of the *English* against the *Normans*, who made a very ill use of the King's Good-will towards them. On the other side, the *English* were extremely prejudic'd against the *Normans*. This Prejudice, which had begun in the Reign of King *Edward*, and been fomented by Earl *Goodwin* and *Harold* his Son, had still been increas'd since the late Revolution. How great care soever the King had taken to recommend Moderation to the *Normans*, there was no Possibility of hindering them from abusing the Superiority, their Victory had given them over the *English*, and from insulting them in their Misfortunes. This was no very proper Method to keep up a good Intelligence between the two Nations. Besides the King had built his Right to the Crown upon so slight a Foundation, that the *English* cou'd not but look upon him as a greedy and ambitious Prince, who had form'd the Project of his Enterprise upon *England*, purely out of a Motive to gratify his Passions. Lastly, the Administration of the two Regents during his Absence, gave Occasion to think, that they wou'd not have carried their Excesses and Rapines to that Height, had they not been assur'd of their Master's Approbation. However the thoughts of the Mildness of his Government for

Reasons of
the Misun-
derstanding be-
tween the
King and
the Eng-
lish.

the

1067. the three first Months of his Reign, had in some Measure caus'd these Reflections to vanish, and dissipated all their Fears. But when they found that after his Return he not only neglected to punish the Regents, but even to approve of their Conduct, they cou'd not contain any longer. They every where spread their Complaints and Murmurs, and openly show'd how much they were dissatisfied. Then it was, the King's Suspicions daily increasing, he took up a Resolution to be on his Guard, and use all possible Means to prevent the Discontents of the *English* from breaking out into a Flame. As his Temper inclin'd him to Severity, the Methods he made use of were of that Nature : To which he was prompted by the *Normans*, whose Interest it was that he shou'd undertake to bring the *English* under by Force, rather than endeavour to gain them by fair Means. This is the most that can be said in his Favour, tho' there are some, who charge him with having form'd a Design of reducing *England* to a State of Slavery, before ever he had receiv'd any Provocation. Be this as it will, the mutual Trust and Confidence between the King and his new Subjects was soon broken, and from that time he thought of nothing but how to establish himself on the Throne, without nicely examining whether the Means he made use of were consonant to Justice and Equity.

*Matilda is
crown'd.
Birth of
Prince
Henry.*

Not long after the King's Return, *Matilda* his Wife came into *England*, and was crown'd with great Solemnity. This same Year she was brought to bed of a Son, nam'd *Henry*. Her other Sons were born in *Normandy*, namely, *Robert*, *Richard*, and *William*, the eldest of whom was about 12 Years of Age.

1068.
*The King
rewards his
Troops.*

The King had hitherto delay'd the rewarding those who had voluntarily assisted him in his Expedition against *England*. Besides the Salaries that were due to them, they expected to be made amends in proportion to their Services and the Power he had acquir'd by their Means. His ordinary Revenues not being sufficient for this, there was a Necessity of having Recourse to the *English*, whose Misfortune it was to be vanquish'd. To this End he bethought

bethought himself of an Expedient, which cou'd not but be very ungrateful to them. This was to set on foot a *Restores* gain *Danegelt*, which had been abolish'd by the *Con-* *Danegelt*. *fessor*, and which brought back to their Remembrance, the Calamities, they had suffer'd under a Foreign Power. He had plainly foreseen, the People wou'd be extremely dissatisfied at it, and therefore he had endeavour'd to prevent the ill Effects, their Discontents might produce, by cressing the principal *English* Lords, as far as his reserv'd Temper wou'd permit him. He was most apprehensive of Earl *Edwin*, who by his Birth, Honours, and Personal Merit was in great Credit with his Countrymen. In order to prevent this Lord's laying hold of this Opportunity to raise new Commotions, he thought it his best way to secure him to his Interests by promising him one of his Daughters in Marriage. *Edwin* was very well pleas'd with the Proposal, and instead of fomenting the Discontents of the *English*, he did all he cou'd to quiet them. *Aldred* Archbishop of York, ^{sends a Re-} *sends a Re-* *monstrance* *to the King*, was not so easily manag'd. This Prelate had entertain'd so high an Opinion of the King, that he was continually speaking in his Praise. But when he saw that he began to pull off the Mask, by renewing a Tax so odious to the Nation, he was quite of another Mind. He sent one to represent to him in his Name, the Injury he was doing the *English*, and the ill Consequences that might follow. The King was nettled at this Remonstrance, and sharply rebuk'd the Person who durst undertake to deliver it. *Which is ill receiv'd.*

'Tis said, *Aldred* was so sensibly touch'd with this Proceeding, that he cou'd not forbear cursing the King and all his Race. It was a great Question whether the Archbishop's Resentment might not Occasion some Troubles in the North. At least the King seem'd to be of that Opinion, by his sending one of his Officers to him to endeavour to appease him. But the Death of *Aldred*, ^{Death of} *Aldred*, ^{Dane-gelt} *Dane-gelt* *levied.* which happen'd just then, freed the King from his Fears, and *Dane-gelt* was levied with all the Rigour imaginable. From that time forward nothing was heard but Murmurings and Complaints, which sowing the King's Mind,

1068. caus'd him to consider the *English* but as so many Rebels, as they on their side look'd upon him under the odious Idea of a *Conqueror*.

Divers Opinions about the King's Conduct towards the English. Before I enter upon the Relation of the Troubles which happen'd in this Reign, it will be proper to remark, that Historians are very much divided in their Opinions concerning the Causes of them. Some cast all the Blame on the *English*, and give us to understand that the King us'd no Severity, till he found milder Means were in vain. Others maintain, that the King's ill Usage of the *English* was the sole Cause of their Revolts. To decide this Question, 'twou'd be necessary to inquire, how far the Power of a Prince might extend, who had acquir'd the Possession of the Crown in the manner we have seen, and how far the Obedience of a Nation was due, who had submitted, partly by Compulsion, partly of their own accord. But in this very Point, Men perhaps wou'd be no less divided in their Opinions. 'Tis sufficient therefore to observe, that among the Historians, who have wrote of *William the Conqueror*, some have display'd all his good Qualities in their best Colours, whilst they have but slightly touch'd upon his Faults. Others have endeavour'd to represent all his Actions to the greatest Disadvantage, and have aggravated even such as might be easily justified. So far is certain, the *English* were ill-treated in his Reign. This the greatest Sticklers for the *Conqueror* and his Race, cannot deny. But they alledge in his Excuse, the Necessity he was in of standing on his Guard against the *English* ever prone to revolt. Others on the contrary ascribe the ill-Treatment the *English* met with, solely to the avaritious Temper of the King, and affirm, their Revolts were entirely owing to their Grief and Despair. Amidst this Diversity of Opinions, the Course I shall take will be plainly to relate such Facts as are uncontested, without making any Reflections, that the Reader may be left at Liberty to judge of them as he shall think proper.

Fl. Wor. Hunt. As Matters stood between the King and the *English*, 'twas very hard for them to sit still and not endeavour at some

some Means to shake off a foreign Yoke, which to them seem'd insupportable. The Insurrections began in the Exeter *Western Parts*, where the Inhabitants of *Exeter* refus'd to take their Oath to the King, and admit a *Norman Garrison*. *William*, sensible of what Importance it was to put a stop to this Evil before it spread any further, march'd in Person, tho' in the midst of Winter, to reduce *Exeter* to Obedience. When he drew near the City, he was met by some of the principal Inhabitants who came to petition him for Pardon in the Name of the Corporation, and to give him Hostages. But whilst the Deputies were with the King, the ordinary Sort of Townsmen having got the Upper-hand, disapprov'd of their Proceedings, and resolv'd to stand upon their Defence. *Gith*, Mother to King *Harold*, who was then in the City, buoy'd up the Inhabitants in their Resolution, and in all probability, was the Person that put them upon it. In the mean time the King being advanc'd too far to retire with Honour, found himself oblig'd to besiege the Town in Form, notwithstanding the sharpness of the Winter. The Army having made their Approaches, and beginning to batter the Walls, the Citizens saw they had no other Course to take but to implore the King's Mercy. How much soever the King was resolv'd to make an Example of them, he yielded to the Intreaties of the Clergy, who were very instant with him for their Pardon. *Gith* had the good Fortune to escape into *Flanders* with a prodigious Quantity of Money. To prevent their Rising again, *William* order'd a Castle to be built in the City, and left it to the care and Management of *Baldwin Son to Earl Gilbert*, with a *Norman Garrison*.

The King cou'd not put off any longer the Payment of his Debts, and the Rewards he had so often promis'd his Troops. The Sums rais'd by the late Tax, which at first were design'd for this Use, had been paid into the King's Treasury, and he cou'd not bear the Thoughts of letting the Money go again. He believ'd it absolutely necessary to have a Reserve ready upon any sudden and unexpected Occasion; especially seeing the Discontents of the *English*

They submit, and are pardoned.

The King builds a Castle.

He seeks the Means to pay his Debts.

1068. *lifh* gave him room to dread a general Revolt. And therefore, without meddling with that Money, he had Recourse to other Methods which greatly heighten'd the Satisfaction of the *English*. He sent Commissioners into all the Counties, to inquire who they were that had sided with *Harold*, and to confiscate their Estates. The *English* loudly exclaim'd against this Proceeding, which seem'd to them very unjust. They alledg'd, that when they took up Arms for *Harold*, that Prince was in actual Possession of the Throne, having been elected at a Time when the Pretensions of *William* to the Crown were not so much as known ; That before the Battle of *Hastings*, they had never taken their Oath to the Duke of *Normandy*, and consequently, their Estates cou'd not be liable to be forfeited, for having bore Arms against him ; That besides, supposing they were guilty, they had made ample Amends for their Fault by a ready Submission, which the King had accepted of, having even promised to protect them in their Rights and Privileges. These Reasons were very strong. But at this Juncture, *William* acted, with a View to *Politicks* rather than Justice. His Intent was not so much to punish them for their pretended Crime, as to come at a plausible Pretence to raise Money, and at the same time to put it out of their Power to hurt him, by depriving them of their Estates ; a Thing, He judg'd absolutely necessary for his Safety and Quiet. And therefore this Fact is slightly pass'd over by the Favourers of *William*. But by way of diverting the Reader's Thoughts from it, they set off to the best Advantage an Act of Justice, the King did upon this Occasion, by restoring a confiscated Estate to an *English* Lord who made appear that he never bore Arms against him *. However we may be assur'd that this was one of the most remarkable Events of this Reign, seeing the Lands that were confiscated, pass'd into the Hands of the *Normans* and other Foreigners,

* *Sharnburn in Norfolk*, which the Conqueror had given to *Warren the Norman*. But *Edwin* the Lord of it proving he had not sided with *Harold*, it was restor'd to him. *Tyrrel* calls this Fact in Question, because this Estate is not mention'd in *Doomsday-book* as in possession of the said *Edwin*.

reigners, who became by that means more considerable in *England* than the *English* themselves. From them are descended many noble Families now in Being. Be this as it will, these Confiscations were of great Service to the King upon two Accounts. *First*, as they put him in a Capacity to pay his Debts and reward his Followers. *Secondly*, as they gave him an Opportunity of stocking the Counties with such as were devoted to him, and whose Interest it was to support him on the Throne.

Whilst the King was thus guarding against the *English*, he daily lost ground in their Esteem and Affections, and put them naturally upon searching after the Means of recovering the Estates, they had been depriv'd of. *Edwin* Earl of *Chester*, one of the most considerable among them, thought it his Duty to attempt the restoring of the almost forlorn Affairs of his Country. The King had amus'd him with the Hopes of having one of his Daughters: but there was no likelihood, he intendrd to be as good as his Word. On the contrary, the King seem'd to want only some Pretence to involve him in the same Ruin with the Rest. *Morchar* his Brother, Earl of *Northumberland*, who was in much the same Condition, very readily engag'd in the Plot. As these two Lords had a very great Interest in the Kingdom, they had soon rais'd an Army, which was reinforc'd by *Blethwin* King of *Wales*, their Nephew, *Brady*. with a good Number of Troops. The King had reason to fear this Revolt would become general, unless he timely oppos'd its Beginnings. Accordingly he drew his Forces together with the utmost Expedition, before the Evil could spread any farther. In his March towards the Rebels, he fortified the Castle of *Warwick*, and made *Henry de Beaumont* Governor, who was also the first Earl of *Warwick*. At the same time he built likewise *Nottingham-Castle*, that he might secure a Retreat in Case of Necessity, by the Means of these two Places. After having taking these Precautions, he continued his march towards the North in order to engage the Rebels, or to besiege *York*, which had sided with them.

*Edwin
and Mor-
char re-
volt.*

vital.

*Ann. Sax.
Dunelm.*

1068.
They submit, and
are pardon'd.

York surrenders ;
where the King builds a
Castle.

The King's
Clemency
seems
doubtful.

He builds
Castles in
several
Places.

Several
Lords
with
Prince Edgar
retire
into Scotland.

In the mean Time, the two Earls, having been in hopes that the rest of the Kingdom would follow the Example of the North, were very much deceiv'd in their Expectations. The King's great Expedition, and the Superiority of his Forces, having broken all their Measures, they found they were not able to stand against him. In this Extremity, they had but two Ways to take, either to fly the Kingdom, or submit to the King's Mercy. They took this last Course, and found their Account in it. How much soever the King might be incens'd, he very readily pardon'd them, with a View to reclaim the *English* by this A&t of Clemency. He kept on however his March towards *York*, the Inhabitants whereof, in no Condition to stand the Brunt of the War alone, came out to meet him, and deliver'd up the Keys of their City. By this Submission, they were pardon'd as to corporal Punishments ; but were forc'd to pay a large Fine, and had the Mortification to see a Castle built in their City and garrison'd with *Norman* Soldiers. *Archil*, a *Northumbrian* Lord, who had been concern'd in the Revolt, was also receiv'd into Favour upon delivering his Son as an Hostage. *Egelwin* Bishop of *Durham* made his Peace likewise upon the same Account.

The King's Clemency towards the Heads of the Rebels might have had a good Effect, if at the same time that he pardon'd some, he had not punish'd others who were less guilty. He order'd great Numbers to be shut up in Prison, who had no hand at all in the late Revolt, and by that Means, gave Occasion to think, the Mercy he had shown the Leaders, was purely a Strain of his Policy. This Proceeding of his spread a Terror throughout the Kingdom, which was still increas'd, when they saw Castles building at *Lincoln*, *Huntingdon*, *Cambridge*, which 'twas evident, were design'd to keep the *English* in Awe. *Morchar* and the other *Northumbrian* Lords, dreading he had only defer'd their Punishment 'till a more convenient Season, retir'd into *Scotland*. Earl *Cospatrick* was under the same Apprehensions, and inspir'd Prince *Edgar* with the same Thoughts, who thereupon went and took Refuge in the Court of *Scotland* with his Mother and Sisters. *Mal-*
colm

colm Macmoir, who was then on the Throne, receiv'd them with the Respect due to their Rank, and consider'd them with regard rather to their Birth than their Fortune. He married soon after *Margaret*, Edgar's eldest Sister. From whom sprang *Matilda*, Grandmother to *Henry II. King of England*, in whose Person the Royal Families of the *Saxons* and *Normans* were united.

Malcolma
marries
Edgar's
Sister.

William was not at all concern'd at being thus rid of his secret Enemies, who gave him much less Uneasiness being in *Scotland*, than if they had staid in *England*. However the Flight of these Lords plainly discovering how the *English* stood affected towards him, he resolv'd to take all possible Measures to screen himself from their Resentment. With this View he did two Things which were equally insupportable. The first was to take from them their Arms. The second, to forbid them having any Lights in their Houses, after eight a-Clock. At which Hour, a Bell was rung to warn them to put out their Lights and cover their Fire, under the Penalty of a great Fine. The Sound of this Bell, which was call'd the *Curfew* *, was for a long time exceeding grating to the Ears of the *English*. When they reflected on the Sweets-of Liberty, which they had enjoy'd under their antient Kings, they cou'd not without extreme Regret behold themselves reduc'd to such a Slavery. If they did not observe this Order most exactly, they were immediately punish'd as if they had been guilty of some heinous Crime. So that this Bell was a Signal which, being repeated every day constantly put them in mind of their wretched State. This Act of Oppression, join'd to a thousand others which they daily suffer'd from the Hands of the King, as well as from the Foreigners spread over the Kingdom, render'd their Lives bitter, and made them deplore their sad and helpless Condition. In this manner several Historians represent the Affairs of the *English* at that Time.

1096.
The King takes from the English their Arms, and establishes the Curfew.

Whilst *William* was thus guarding against the secret Practices of his Subjects, *Goodwin*, *Edmund* and *Magnus*, Sons Harold's
Sons make
to a Descent,

* *Couvre-feu* or *Cover-fire*.

1069. to *Harold*, made a Descent in *Somersetshire*. The only Opposition they met with was from *Eadnoth*, formerly Master of the Horse to the King their Father, who was willing to give *William* a Proof of his Fidelity by encountering these Princes. His Zeal for the new King prov'd fatal to him, seeing he was slain in the Battle; after which they made off loaden with Booty.

English and Normans complain of one another. If we may believe the Historians who espouse the Side of the *English*, *England* was then in a State that deserv'd Commiseration. The *Normans* back'd by the King's Favour and Protection, daily committed Outrages against the *English*, for which these last cou'd expect no Redress. Others, more Friends to the *Normans* than to the *English*, assure us, that the *English* vex'd at the Heart that the King's Measures shou'd put it out of their Power to shake off a Yoke which they bore with extreme Impatience, found fault with the *Normans* in general. They add, that scarce a Day pass'd, but the dead Bodies of assassinated *Normans* were found in the Woods or High-ways, without any possibility of discovering the Authors of these Murders; so firmly did the *English* stand by one another. In all Appearance the King was persuad'd, that the *English* was wholly to blame, since he publish'd a severe Edict, wherein he order'd, that when a *Norman* shou'd be slain or robb'd, the *Hundred* where the Act was done shou'd be responsible for the Crime, and pay a large Fine. This Law was not new to the *English*. Ever since the Time of *Alfred the Great*, it had been in Force in the Kingdom (a). But what extremely offended them was, that this Edict was made in Favour of the *Normans* only.

Edict in favour of the Normans.

Several Normans quit England.

How gracions soever the King might be to the Foreigners, abundance of them desir'd leave to return into their own Country. The King readily granted their Request, after he had fully paid the Arrears due to them, and reward-ed

(a) In the time of the *Danes*, when the Body of an unknown Person was found murder'd, 'twas taken for granted, 'twas a *Dane*, and the *Hundred* paid the Mulct. Thus *William* only reviv'd an old Custom by changing the name of *Dane* into that of *Norman*. *Saxon's Hilt.* c. 40. p. 62.

ed them above their Expectation. All this was done at the Expence of the *English*, on whom were levied the Sums necessary to defray this Charge.

Occasions of Complaint daily encreas'd on both Sides. The King complain'd that the *English* appear'd ready upon all Occasions to rebel, and the *English* looking upon themselves as unjustly oppres'd, loudly murmur'd at it. The *Northumbrians* were the most impatient. We have already seen, in several Parts of this History, that they had been wont to be as it were their own Masters, and cou'd not bear a State of Slavery. The same Spirit still reign'd among them. They cou'd not refrain expostulating upon the least Occasion, and very often usher'd in their Complaints with some Insurrection. The turbulent Temper of these People, and their Neighbourhood to *Scotland*, giving the King room to suspect them, he resolv'd to appoint them for Governor *Robert Cumin*, a *Norman* Lord, whose rugged Disposition seem'd proper to tame their Fierceness. They heard this News at the time a Project, they had form'd of calling in the *Danes* was just going to break out. Some of them who had taken refuge in *Denmark*, had perswaded King *Sweyn*, that 'twou'd be an easy Matter for him to conquer *England*. They had even assur'd him in behalf of the *Northumbrians*, that they wou'd assist him in his Undertaking. Upon this *Sweyn* had fitted out a Fleet of 200 Sail, which was ready to put to Sea, at the time *Cumin* with 700 *Normans*, came and took Possession of his Government. As his Arrival might prove very prejudicial to their Designs, the principal Contrivers of the Plot resolv'd to get rid of the new Governor and his Attendants. Tho' he had notice of their Design, yet he thought it so little in their Power to hurt him, that he wou'd take no warning. In the mean time the Conspirators having privately drawn some Troops together, came to *Durham*, where *Cumin* was, wholly unprovided for any Defence, and put him and his *Norman* Followers all to the Sword. Quickly after arriv'd the *Danish* Fleet under the Command of *Osborn* Brother to the King of *Denmark*. Upon News of which all the Male-contents went and join'd the *Danish* General, who

Robert Cumin made Governor of Northumberland. Dunelm.

*The Nor-
thumbri-
ans call in
the Danes.*

*Cumin slain, and
the Danes land, and
are join'd by the
Male-con-
tents.*

1069. had already landed his Troops. *Edgar Atheling, Caspavick, Merleswym*, and all the other Lords who had retir'd into *Scotland*, brought him Reinforcements which render'd his Army very formidable. As all *Northumberland* sided with the *Danes*, and the King had not in those Parts any Forces capable of withstanding so numerous an Army, *Osborn* march'd directly towards *York*. The *Norman* Garrison there upon the Approach of the *Danes*, came to a Resolution to hold out to the last Extremity, not doubting but the King wou'd come to their Relief with all possible Expedition. In hopes of this, they set Fire to the Suburbs at the Foot of the Castle, that the Houses might not be of any Service to the Besiegers. But the Fire spreading farther than was design'd, great Part of the City was reduc'd to Ashes. The Cathedral-Church, the Monastery of St. *Peter*, and a famous Library begun by Archbishop *Ecbert*, about the Year 800, entirely perish'd in the Flames. In the mean while the *Danes* taking the Advantage of the Confusion caus'd by this Accident, enter'd the City without Opposition. As soon as they were Masters of it they attack'd the Citadel so vigorously that they took it at the first Assault, and put the Garrison to the Sword. After this the *Danish* General understanding the King was preparing to march against him, went and encamp'd on an advantagious Piece of Ground, leaving in *York* Earl *Walhöff* with an *English* Garrison.

The King dreads an universal Revolt. The News of this Invasion somewhat shook the King's Resolution. He was afraid the *Danes* had been called in by a general Combination. Possess'd with this Notion, he durst not quit the Heart of the Kingdom, for fear his Absence shou'd give the rest of the Malecontents an Opportunity to rise. On the other Hand, 'twas no less dangerous to neglect the Affairs of the North, which might be attended with ill Consequences. In this Perplexity, he believed his best way would be to endeavour to pacify the *English*, by doing some Acts which seem'd proper to that End. He recall'd several whom he had banish'd: He set others at Liberty, and affected by some Instances of Severity to repress the Insolence of the *Normans*. His Fears being somewhat

somewhat abated by the good Effect of these Proceedings, he sent the Queen and the Princes into Normandy, and then march'd against the *Danes*. He was so exasperated against the *Northumbrians*, that he was heard to swear by *God's Splendour*, he wou'd not leave a Soul alive. As soon as he was enter'd York-shire, he began to put his Threatnings in Execution by terrible Ravages. In the mean time the *Danes* kept their Posts, where he durst not attack them, well knowing that by hazarding a Battle, he stak'd his All against little or nothing. To extricate himself out of this ^{He bribes} Difficulty, he believ'd the best Course he cou'd take, ^{the Danish General so} wou'd be to bribe the General by Presents. With this ^{go off.} View he sent private Emissaries to offer him a round Sum of Money, with leave to plunder the Country along the Sea-Coast, provided he'd go off before Winter was over. This Negotiation having succeeded to his wish, *Osborn* retir'd in the Beginning of the Spring, for which he was severely punish'd by the King his Brother. The *Danes* being gone, *William* march'd to York, in order to besiege ^{besieges} the City, which was defended by an *English* and *Scotch* Garrison, under the Command of a brave Gouvernour. This was Earl *Walhöff*, who by his Courage and Con-^{Malm.} duct, render'd the Siege so long and difficult, that the King began to Despair of going through with it, when the want of Provisions oblig'd the Besieg'd to capitulate. How exasperated soever the King might be, he readily ^{bravely} granted honourable Terms to this brave Gouvernour, whose ^{is par-} Valour he had so often admired during the Siege. He ^{don'd.} was not satisfied with showing him this Mark of his Judith the Esteem, but gave him in Marriage his own Niece, ^{King's} Daughter to the Countess of *Albemarle*. Some time af- ^{Maries} ter he made him also Earl of *Northampton* and *Huntington*, and afterwards of *Northumberland*. He received likewise into Favour Earl *Cospatrick*: but he punished severely the rest of the Officers and Soldiers of the Garrison, and laid a heavy Fine upon the Citizens of *York*. As soon as the King the Siege was over, and the King found it in his Power ^{ravages} to be revenged on the *Northumbrians*, he ravaged their ^{Northum-} Country, in so merciless a manner, that for 60 Miles to- ^{berland.}

1069. *Malm.* *Dunelm.* gether, between *York* and *Durham*, he did not leave a single House standing. He spar'd not even the Churches, and other publick Edifices. This is what *William of Malmsbury*, though a *Norman*, durst not deny. His Pretence for thus laying the Country waste, was to prevent a second *Danish* Invasion. But the Manner he went to work, clearly proves he did it to glut his Revenge, and strike a Terror into the rest of the Kingdom. It is impossible, according to Historians, to represent to the Life the Miseries of the Northern Counties. The Lands lying untill'd, and the Houses being destroy'd, People died in heaps, after having endeavour'd to prolong their wretched Lives by eating of the most unclean Animals, and sometimes even human Flesh.

1070. *The King treats the English very ill.* The Step the *English* had taken in calling in the *Danes* into the Kingdom, thoroughly convinc'd the King, that he should never be in peaceable Possession of the Crown, till he had entirely put it out of their Power to execute the Plots they should form against him. This made him resolve to humble in such a Manner, all those who had any Interest with the People, that they should not be able to do any thing considerable. It is true, many innocent Persons were to suffer in the Execution of this Scheme. But at that time it is certain *William* had an Eye to nothing but his own Security, without troubling himself whether the Means he made use of were consistent with Justice.

He gives their Places and Estates to Normans. To accomplish his Design, he on a sudden remov'd the *English* from such Posts as gave them any Power over their Countries. After which he seiz'd upon all the *Baronies*, and all the *Fiefs* of the Crown in general, and distributed them among the *Normans*, and other Foreigners, who had follow'd him into *England*. But as these last were not so many in Number as those that were depriv'd of their Estates, he was oblig'd to load them, as I may say, with Benefits, in order to take all the *Crown-Lands* out of the Hands of the *English*. We may be satisfied by the following Instances, how profuse the King was in his Distributions. *Robert*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, had for his Share the Earldom of *Cornwall*, where he had

Brady.

288 *Manors*, besides 558 which he was in Possession of in other Counties. *Odo*, Bishop of Bayeux, his other Brother, was made Earl Palatine of Kent, and *High Justiciary of England*. This Prelate had 180 *Fiefs* in Kent alone, and 255 in several other Places. *William Fitzosbern* was rewarded with the whole Earldom of Hereford. *Hugh Lupus*, the King's Sister's Son, was presented by his Uncle with the County Palatine of Chester, with all the Royal Prerogatives, to hold it with the same Sovereign Power as the King himself held his Crown. *Alan Fergeant*, Duke of Bretaign, the King's Son-in-law, had all Earl Morchar's Estate, with the same Privileges as were granted to the Earl of Chester. *Roger de Montgomery* had first Arundel and Chichester, and afterwards Shropshire. *Walter Giffard* had Buckinghamshire, and *William Warren*, the County of Surry. *Eudes*, Earl of Blois, was put in Possession of the Lordship of Holderness. *Ralph de Guader*, a Bretain, was made Earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, and Lord of Norwich. *Henry de Ferrars* had given him Turbury-Castle. *William*, Bishop of Constance, was posses'd of 280 *Fiefs*, which he left at his Death to *Robert Mowbray* his Nephew. Twou'd be endless to reckon up all the Donations the King granted to the Foreigners at the Expence of the English. Those few above-mentioned are sufficient to make appear that the King's Aim in these lavish Proceedings was solely to deprive the English of their Estates. This therefore is a memorable Epoch, when, to speak in the Language of the Historians, *England* was delivered into the Hands of Foreigners. One may easily guess that the Lords, to whom the King had distributed so many Estates, suffered none to hold of them but those of their own Nation. Accordingly, from that time, we hear no more of *Ealdormans*, or *Thanes*, but of *Counts*, or *Earls*, *Viscounts*, *Barons*, *Vavassors*, and other Titles taken from the *Norman* or *French* Tongue, which began to be introduc'd into *England* instead of the *Saxon* Names. So that it may be truly said, *England* became *Norman*. Perhaps even its old Name would have been chang'd for that of *Normandy*, if some things, which will be spoken of in the following Reigns, had not made the *Normans* settled in

England

1070. *England* desirous of being look'd upon as *English*, and even of styling themselves so. Be this as it will, from the Foreigners, who were then put in Possession of these Estates, are deriv'd a great Part of the most eminent Families this Day in the Kingdom.

*The King
breaks
through
the Cler-
gy's Char-
ters.*

'Twas not only the *English* Nobility that were Sufferers by these Proceedings of the Conqueror. The *Clergy* had scarce any better Quarter. The *Saxon* Kings had granted to several Bishops and Abbots Fees exempted from all military Service, denouncing in their Charters Imprecations against such of their Successors as should dare to violate these Priviledges. But *William*, not being in the Number of those Princes who look upon what their Predecessors have settled as unalterable, cancell'd all these Immunities. Church-Lands as well as the rest, were oblig'd to find, in time of War, a certain Number of Horsemen, notwithstanding the Clauses in their antient Charters to the contrary. Such of the *Clergy* as refus'd to comply, only gave the King what he wanted, a Pretence to turn them out, in order to place Foreigners in their room. Moreover, he quarter'd upon the Monasteries, almost all his Troops, and oblig'd the Monks to find them in Necessaries. By this Means he kept his Army without any Charge, and had Spies in all the Religious Houses who had an Eye over the Actions of the Monks.

*He seizes
the Money
and Plate
in the Mo-
naстыries.* All this not being able to make the King easy, he before thought of a thing which drew upon him the Imprecations and of the People, but especially of the Monks. Some of his Emissaries having inform'd him, that several Persons had lodg'd their Money and Plate in the Monasteries, he took occasion from thence to order all the Religious Houses to be search'd, and every thing of value to be carried off, on pretence it belong'd to the Rebels. Some Historians affirm, that he did not spare so much as the Shrines of the Saints and the consecrated Vessels. 'Tis very probable, that when the *Clergy*, after the Battle of *Hastings*, were so eager to place this Prince on the Throne, 'twas purely for fear of losing their Effects. But this last Action of his

his gave them but too much Reason to own, how much
they were out in their Politicks. 1070.

How severe soever the King had been to the *Clergy*, he *several* did not think he had done enough yet. The great Credit ^{Bishops} of the Bishops and Abbots still making him uneasy, he re-^{and Ab-} solv'd to get rid of such as he most suspected. To pro-^{borts are de-} posed. proceed in this Busines's so as to throw off the Blame from Ingulph. himself, he sent for two Legates from *Rome*, who con-^{Hoved.} ven'd at *Westminster* a Council, where every thing went to his Mind. *Strigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was degraded for having intruded into the *See*, *Robert* his Pre-decessor not having been canonically depos'd. This was apparently done in Complaisance to the Pope, seeing it does not appear that the King had any reason to complain of this Archbishop. The same Council also depos'd *Agelmar* Bishop of *East-Anglia*, who resided then at *Helmbam*; *Algerick*, Bishop of *Durham*, and some others, whom the King did not like, fell likewise a Sacrifice to his Jealousy. As for others against whom the Council had nothing to alledge, the King by his sole Authority banish'd some the Kingdom, and threw the rest into Prison, without any legal Proceedings, or giving any other Reason but his *Good Pleasure*. After he had thus got rid of all those that gave him any Uneasiness, he put in their room *Normans* or other Foreigners, for all were acceptable but *English*. He *Lanfranc* promoted *Lanfranc*, an *Italian*, who was Abbot of a Mo-^{made} nastery at *Caen*, to the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, and ^{Archbi-} *Thomas*, a *Canon of Bayenx*, to that of *Yerk*. Three of ^{shop.} *Hoveden*. his Chaplains were made Bishops of *Winchester*, *Helmbam*, and *Selscy*, and *Norman* Abbots were plac'd in the Mo-nasteries, from whence the *English* were outed. This however must be said for the King, that he made Choice of Persons of distinguish'd worth to fill up the *Vacancies*.

I wou'd have no one imagine that I have aggravated Matters in the least, in what has been said concerning the Usage of King *William* towards the *English*, or that I have affected to follow those who made it their Business to blacken his Reputation. They that will be at the pains to consult the original Historians, will easily be convinc'd of the

1070.

the contrary. They will see that there is not a single Circumstance but what is to be met with in the Histories written during his Life, or quickly after his Death, by Authors who have endeavour'd the most to justify his Conduct. 'Tis therefore a groundless Assertion of some of our modern Writers to say, that this Prince never acted as a Conqueror, but made the antient Laws and Constitutions of the Realm the constant Rule of his Proceedings.

*The Re-
volts of
the Abbot
of St. Al-
bans.*

*Edgar pro-
claim'd.*

The King letting the *English* see by his whole Conduct, that his Design was to reduce them so low as to put it out of their Power ever to lift up their Heads again, some of the principal among them thought now was the Time or never, to make a vigorous Attempt to prevent their utter Ruin. *Fretheric*, Abbot of St. *Albans*, was one of the forwardest to inspire his Countrymen with this Resolution, and by the means of his Interest and Riches it was, that a fresh Plot was laid to drive the King and the *Normans* out of the Kingdom. Matters were carried on with that Secrecy, that the Conspirators on a sudden drew an Army together, before the King had any Notice of their Proceedings. This Army being grown very numerous in a few days, the Abbot of St. *Albans* sent for *Edgar Atheling* out of *Scotland*, and put him at the Head of the Male-contents, who acknowledg'd him for their King, and had him proclaim'd in all the Places they were Masters of. This bold Enterprise made the King extremely uneasy, who liv'd in a constant Dread that some sudden Revolution wou'd rob him of the Fruits of all his Labours. He communicated his Thoughts to *Landfranc* the new Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who advis'd him to deal more gently with the *English*. He even gave him to understand that 'twas absolutely necessary to enter into a Negotiation with the Revolters, least the Flame, which was already kindled, might spread over the whole Kingdom. The King took his Advice, and after he had made a great many fair Promises, he found the Means to get the Leaders to come to a Conference at *Berkamsted*, where they met the King. He calmly heard all their Complaints, and promis'd to redress their Grievances.

He

He even swore on the Holy Evangelists that he wou'd establish the antient Laws of the Realm, which went under the Name of *Edward* his Benefactor. This Condescension having pacified the Male-contents, they return'd to the Army in order to dismiss their Troops, believing they had no further Occasion for them. But Nothing was farther from the King's Thoughts, than the keeping his Oath, which he look'd upon as extorted. A little after, he order'd a great Number of those that had taken up Arms against him to be apprehended, some of them he put to death, and others were banish'd or clap'd up in Prison. Upon This, *Edgar* fled into *Scotland*, and the Rest took refuge in *Ireland*, *Denmark*, *Norway*. The Abbot of St *Albans* retir'd to the Isle of *Ely*, where he died with Regret. As soon as the King heard of his Death, he seiz'd upon the Monastery, and took from thence all that was valuable. He was resolv'd to have utterly destroy'd it, if *Lanfranc* had not prevail'd upon him to desist from his Design*.

The King's Severity to the Male-contents variously wrought on the Minds of the *English*. Some, terrified by it, resolv'd to endure all Things, for fear of making Matters worse by fruitless Attempts. Others not so passive, determin'd to run all Risks to free themselves from a Yoke they cou'd bear no longer. These last retir'd to the Isle of *Ely*, where was a rich Monastery, the Abbot where-of was their Friend. But this was not the only reason that induc'd them to go thither. This place, call'd an *Isle* from its being surrounded with a Morass, was very strong, and seem'd proper to shelter them from the King's Designs upon them, when they shou'd have got together

1074;
Another
Revolt,

Dunelm.

The Re-
volt
er
tire to Ely

* The Account of this Revolt is only related by *Matthew Paris* in the Life of *Fretheric*, and for that reason is by some call'd in Question. But as he cou'd not well invent this Story, it is most probable he found it in the Annals of the Monastery of St. *Albans*. *Tyrrel* observes *Edgar Etheling* cou'd not be concern'd in it, seeing he had fled into *Scotland* near two Years before, and did not return to *England* till three after, though this Author makes him to have done this the Year before.

1071. a sufficient Number of Men to defend it. *Edwin* and *Morchar* chose to join them, being very sensible, they shou'd be made the first Sacrifice to the King's Suspicions, and not daring to trust to his Promises any longer. Some time after, *Edwin* having resolv'd to go into *Scotland*, where he thought he might be more serviceable to his Party, was murther'd on the Road by his own Men, *Morchar* his Brother found in the *Isle of Ely* a great many Persons of Quality, with *Egelrick* and *Walter*, Bishops of *Durham* and *Hereford*, all resolutely bent to oppose to their utmost the Despotick Power the King assum'd to himself. Their Number being considerably encreas'd by Multitudes of Male-contents flocking to them, they chose for their Leader *Everard**, Nephew to the Bishop of *Peterborough*, who was look'd upon as the bravest and best Soldier in the Kingdom. He had been banish'd in the Reign of King *Edward*, for some Outrages he had committed in his Neighbourhood, and had retir'd into *Flanders*, where his Valour had gain'd him a great Reputation and rais'd him to eminent Posts. The Death of his Father obliging him to return into *England*, he found his Estate given away to a *Norman*. He demanded the Restitution of it, but not being able to obtain it by a legal Process, he drove out the Foreigner by Force, and took Possession. This was precisely at the time, when coming to *Ely* to avoid the King's Resentment, he was chosen General by the Male-contents. As his Reputation was very great, and as those, who show'd Marks of Courage and Resolution, were as formidable to the King as those who durst not resist him were despicable, he created in the King a great deal of Uneasiness. The Honour he had just then receiv'd, having animated him with fresh Ardour, and a Desire of letting them see he was not unworthy of it, he set about making all the Preparations necessary for a vigorous Defence, plainly foreseeing 'twou'd not be long before he was attack'd. Whilst he was laying in Stores, he caus'd all the accessible Places of

the

* *Hereward.*

the Isle to be carefully fortified, and took all other Pre-
cautions; which might render a Siege the more difficult. *William*, knowing who he had to deal with, march'd with all possible speed to attack him, in hopes to come upon him before he shou'd be prepar'd. But *Everard* had already guarded against his Entrance into the Isle, by ordering a Castle of Wood to be run up in the Morafs, which cou'd not be assaulted, and which defended the only Passage to the Besieged. In spite of these seemingly insurmountable Difficulties, *William* was resolv'd upon a Siege, or rather a Blockade. He was in hopes to reduce them by Famine, and to have them all together at his Mercy, seeing the same thing that prevented his Approaches, was an invincible Obstacle to their Flight. With this View it was, that he built a Bridge over the Morafs two Miles in length, by the means of which, he depriv'd the Besieg'd of all hopes of Succours. However, tho' he had spent a great deal of time in the Siege, he was never the nearer, since the Rebels had a prodigious store of Provisions. These Delays made him very uneasy, as well upon account of the Affair in hand, as because they prevented him from marching against the King of *Scot-land*, who had taken this Opportunity to make Incursions into the Northern Counties. At length, when he began to despair of succeeding in his Enterprise, a lucky Thought made him Master of the Place.

The Monastery of *Ely* holding without the Limits of the Isle several Mannors, from whence the greatest Part of their Revenues arose, the King was advis'd to seize them, in order to reduce the Monks to Obedience out of fear of losing them. He had no sooner done this and distributed the Lands among his Courtiers, but *Thurstan* the Abbot, not being able to withstand the Clamours of the Monks, sought the means to recover their Estates again. He cou'd think of no properer Method, than the procuring the King's Favour by some considerable Piece of Service. To this End, he privately sent and offer'd the King, to put him in possession of the *Isle of Ely*, with all those that were in it, and to pay

1071. him a thousand Marks, on condition the Lands that were seiz'd were restor'd to the Monastery. This Offer was gladly accepted of, and the Abbot perform'd his Promise, but Historians have not acquainted us how he did it. However that be, the Male-contents were constrain'd, by the Abbot's Treachery, to submit to the King's Mercy.

Hoveden:
Paris.

Baker.

Everard alone escap'd, having open'd a way with his Sword thro' some Guards that defended a certain Pass. Of those that were taken in the Isle, some had their Eyes put out, or their Hands cut off, others were shut up in divers Prisons. Among these last was Earl *Morchar*, with *Egelrick* Bishop of *Durham*, who having been so hardy as to excommunicate the King, was sent to *Abington*, where he was starv'd to Death. The Monks of *Ely* were likewise chastis'd, tho' they had taken all imaginable care to perform the Articles of Capitulation. When they came to pay the Money they had stipulated for, upon its wanting only a Groat, they were forc'd to pay another thousand Marks. Neither did they come off so: The King quarter'd upon them forty Knights, for whom they were oblig'd to find all Necessaries.

The King
of Scotland
continues his
Ravages.

Hoveden.

Cospa-
trick in-
vades
Cumber-
land.

Whilst the King was taken up in the Siege of *Ely*, *Malcolm* continued his Ravages in the North, with a Barbarity very unworthy a Christian Prince, if it was such, as the *English* Historians have describ'd it. They tell us, the *Scotch* ripp'd up the Bellies of Women with Child, cut the Throats of the old Men, and toss'd young Children into the Air to receive them on the Points of their Swords. But in all appearance these things have been greatly aggravated, as well as the Number of the *English* Slaves that were carried into *Scotland*, where 'tis said there was not a House but had one. *Cospatrick*, who was then Governor of *Northumberland*, not being strong enough to make head against the King of *Scotland*, made an Incursion into *Cumberland*, where he reveng'd on the *Scots* the Calamities their Countrymen had brought on the *English*. This Expedition did but the more exasperate the King of *Scotland*, who took Occasion from

from thence to carry on his Ravages the more furiously in 1072.
Northumberland. *William* cou'd not bear these Insults : *The King marches into Scotland.*
 But the Affair of *Ely* seeming to him of the greater Importance, he was willing to see it over. As soon as it was ended, he march'd into *Galloway*, where however he only fatigued his Army to little Purpose. In the mean Time *An.Sax.* *Malcolm*, who was retir'd into *Scotland*, endeavour'd to *Ingulph*. prolong the War, in hopes some new Troubles, of which *Hoveden*. he might take the Advantage, wou'd unexpectedly arise in *Pol. Virg.* *England*. The same Reason oblig'd *William* to put an End to it as soon as possible. The readiest way to do this, he thought was to follow the *Scots* into the Heart of their Country, that the Dread of a Battle, which to them might prove fatal, might compel them to strike up a Peace. This Resolution succeeded as he expected, *Malcolm*, who was unwilling to hazard a Battle in his own Kingdom, having offer'd to accommodate Matters by a Treaty, he was of Opinion, he ought not to be in the least Suspence whether he shou'd put an End to a War, which the Circumstances of his Affairs made him look upon as extremely dangerous. Besides he seem'd ever since the Battle of *Hastings*, *A Treaty between the two Kings.* resolv'd never to run any Risk. This was the Reason of his not fighting the *Danes* before, and in all probability he acted now upon the same Grounds with regard to the *Scots*. Be this as it will, the Bounds of the two Kingdoms were set out * by the Treaty, and *Malcolm* did him Homage. Some *English* Writers ** pretend this Homage was done for all *Scotland*; but the *Scotch* affirm 'twas only for *Cumberland*. And indeed that is most likely, since there is no Probability that *Malcolm*, who had not receiv'd the least Check, shou'd stoop so low as to do Homage for his whole

* *Hector Boetius* says, That in Memory of this Peace, there was a *Stone-cross* erected in the Middle of the Mountains of *Stanemore* in *Tyorkshire*, which we call *Rero-cross*, and the *Scots*, *Rey-cross*, that is, *Royal-cross*, having the Arms of both Kings engraven on the several Sides of it, which was for the future to serve as a Boundary to the two Kingdoms, the Remainders of which Cross is still to be seen.

** *Ho:inshed* and other modern Authors. *Ingulphus* says only *Malcolm* did Homage, without telling us for what.

1072. whole Kingdom. I am very sensible, 'tis asserted that *William* had a Right to demand it: But this is not a Place to enter into this Dispute, the Discussion whereof will more properly come in elsewhere.

Several Families settle in Scotland.

The good Reception *Malcolm* gave all the *English Refugees*, drew great Numbers of them into his Dominions; where some of them procured Settlements which oblig'd them to continue there. From These are deriv'd several considerable Families at this Day in *Scotland*. Some will have it, that the *English* brought thither their Language, with the Titles of *Duke*, *Earl* and *Baron*; but *Buchanan* affirms, they were in use there before that Time. He freely owns indeed, that the *English* introduc'd into *Scotland* Luxury, Pride, Wantonness, Drunkenness and other Vices, to which he pretends his Countrymen were Strangers to before. Among the chief of the Refugees was Earl *Cospatrick*, who had been depriv'd of his Government, under Pretence of his having a hand in the Death of *Cumin*, tho' he had after that done the King very signal Services. He was succeeded by Earl *Walhoff*, the only *English* Lord, for whom *William* had any Kindness left. But he did not keep long in his good Graces, for which he was principally indebted to his Wife, who was the King's Neice.

Walhoff made Earl of Northumberland.

1073.
The King of France attacks Normandy.

Ann. Sax. Malm.

The *French* having afforded *William* sufficient Time to settle himself on the Throne of *England*, without giving him the least Molestation, he was in hopes since they had not taken the Advantage of the late Troubles in *England*, they wou'd be still less inclin'd to disturb him, after his having entirely brought his *English* Subjects under. But on a sudden *Philip*'s Jealousy reviving, he cou'd not see without Regret, the King of *England* in so prosperous a Condition. He blamed himself for having been so impolitick as not to assist the *English* Male-contents, and resolv'd to make amends for his Fault by attacking *Normandy*. He did This no doubt in Hopes the *English* wou'd be induc'd by it to revolt, and by that means detain *William* in *England*. Whatever his Thoughts were, he suddenly invaded

vaded Normandy, without any Declaration of War. Upon News of This, *William* went over with an Army wholly consisting of *English*, he not having dared to carry his *Norman* Troops out of the Kingdom. Besides, he chose rather to expothe *English* than *Normans*, who were absolutely necessary for the Preservation of his Conquest. With these Forces, he retook *Mans* and all the Province of *Maine*, which had lately revolted, the *English* taking a Pride in faithfully serving him in *Normandy*, whilst in *England* he treated them with great Rigour. *Philip* not having had the Success he expected, soon grew weary of the War, and put an End to it by concluding a Peace with the King of *England*.

Quickly after this Treaty Prince *Edgar*, tir'd with living in a Foreign Country, came to the King and begging his Aæbeling Pardon submitted himself to his Will. He met with a fa- ^{submits to} the King. youable Reception, and had an Allowance given him of a pound of Silver a Day. From that Time he remain'd all along in Obedience without giving the King the least Uneasiness. If he had any occasion to complain, 'twas not so much of *William* as of the *English*, who after the Death of *Edward* had prefer'd a private Person before him, 'Twas not *Edgar* that *William* had depriv'd of the Crown, but *Harold*, who in all Appearance, if he had been able to keep it, wou'd have left to his Son, without troubling himself about the Rights of the *Saxon* Prince. On the other hand it must be confess'd, that *Edgar* had reason to be satisfied with *William's* Clemency, who was very willing to receive him into Favour, notwithstanding the Mistrust he might justly entertain upon his Score.

Whilst the King was in *Normandy*, *Gregory VII.*, the boldest and most enterprising Pope that ever sat in the *Pontifical Chair*, sent his *Nuntio* to summon him to do him Homage, pretending that *England* was a Fief of the *Holy See*. He demanded likewise the Arrears of *Peter-Pence*, which had not been paid for several Years. Some will have it that the Pope's Demand as to the first Article was not without Grounds, and that it was the Condition, on which

The Pope demands Homage of the King. Hoved. Eadm. Brady.

1073. which *William* had obtain'd the Pope's Approbation for his Conquest of *England*. Others derive the Pope's Sovereignty over *England* from the voluntary Grant of *Romescot*, or *Peter-Pence* made to the Church of *Rome* by *Ina* and *Offa* Kings of *Wessex* and *Mercia*. They pretend 'twas a real Tribute by which they became *Feudatories* to the *Holy See*. In fine, there are some, who throwing up this Pretension, are content with dating this Sovereignty from the Time of *Ethehwulf*'s Journey to *Rome*. But perhaps altho' *William*, whilst he was forming his Enterprise, had not disputed the Pope's Claims, yet when he found himself well fix'd on the Throne, he was quite of another Temper. He plainly told the *Nuntio*, that he held his Crown of none but of God and his Sword, and that he wou'd not make it dependent on any Person living. Nay, he went further: For upon the *Nuntio*'s daring to threaten him, he publish'd an Edict, wherein he forbud all his Subjects to acknowledge any Pope but whom he first allow'd of, and to receive any Orders from *Rome* without his Leave. This was to let *Gregory* fee, who had then a Competitor, how great a Risk he run of being fowred in his Turn, if he persisted in his Claimis. As for the Arrears of *Peter-Pence*, he promis'd to pay what was due, and to be more punctual for the future. This resolute Answer of the King having convinc'd the Pope that *William* was not a Prince to be sway'd by superstitious Scruples, much les to be aw'd with Threats, he let his Pretensions drop.

1074. The King's long Stay in *Normandy* occasion'd in *England* a fresh Conspiracy, which was so much the more dangerous as the most considerable of the *Norman* Lords were the Contrivers of it. *Ralph de Guader*, a *Bretaign*, Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Roger de Breteuil*, Earl of *Hereford*, having resolv'd to unite their two Families by the Marriage of *Ralph* with the Daughter of *Roger*, the King, for Reasons unknown, put a stop to their Proceedings. The Earls, who durst not compleat the Marriage whilst the King was in *England*, took the Opportunity of his Absence to accomplish

*The King
resolutely
refuses it.*

*Conspiracy
land
of the Nor-
mans a-
gainst the
King.
Malm.
Hoved.
Ann. Sax.
Paris.
Fl. Wigor.*

1074.

complish their Design. They made a splendid Feast upon this Occasion, to which were invited several Persons of Quality, and among the rest Earl *Walhöff*. As they knew the King's Temper, they had at the same Time form'd a Design to depose him, perceiving they had no other way to avoid the Effects of his Anger. This seeming to them a good Opportunity to draw their Guests into their Plot, as soon as they saw them heated with the Wine, they fell a talking of the King, and dwelt upon such Subjects as were most likely to exasperate them against him. They pretended to bemoan the *English*, who having been all along a free People, were now reduc'd to a shameful Servitude. As for the *Normans*, they stirr'd them up with the Consideration of the King's severe Government, who by the excessive Impositions laid on Estates, took from them with one Hand what he had given them with the other. In fine; perceiving they were heard with Pleasure, they openly declar'd, 'twas unworthy Persons of Honour to be govern'd by a Bastard, who had usurp'd the two Crowns he was in Possession of. Their Discourses had so sudden an Effect upon Men who in their Cups thought nothing difficult, that, with one Consent, they resolv'd to take up Arms in order to oppose the King's Return. Earl *Walhöff*, warm'd with the Wine as well as the rest, came in to the Plot, without reflecting on the Consequences. But on the Morrow, the Fumes of the Liquor being dispers'd, he consider'd more deliberately, that he had embark'd in an Enterprize which, instead of freeing the *English* from Oppression, cou'd not but increase their Misery. He fore saw the Difficulties which wou'd naturally obstruct their Designs. But supposing it shou'd succeed, he plainly perceiv'd that *England* wou'd not be one jot the better for it, since she wou'd become a Prey to several petty Tyrants who wou'd accomplish her Destruction. Moreover he reflected that in Case the Conspiracy shou'd fall to the ground, which was very probable, the Vengeance wou'd all fall on his Head as he was an *Englishman*,

*Walhöff
engages in
the Plot,*

1074. whereas the Foreigners wou'd find some Favour with the King. He cou'd not likewise forbear acknowledging he lay under many Obligations to the King, who not only had already pardon'd him once before, but also had distinguish'd him by many Favours from his Countrymen.
Repents of it,
and is pardoned. These Reflections having wrought in his Mind a hearty Repentance for what he had done, he went to *Lanfranc* and acquainted him with what had pass'd. He excus'd himself on account of having drank too much, which permitted him not to reflect on what was propos'd to him, and intreated him to intercede for his Pardon. The Archbishop commended him for repenting of his Fault, and advis'd him to repair forthwith to the King and inform him of the whole Matter. He put him in hopes of easily obtaining a Pardon for a Crime done with so little Premeditation, in such Circumstances, and for which he was so soon sorry, and wrote himself to the King in his Behalf. *Walhöff* taking his Advice, set out immediately and went and threw himself at the King's Feet, who receiv'd him very kindly, and pardon'd his Imprudence, after he had been inform'd of all Particulars relating to the Conspiracy.

*The Plot is
unfis'd.*

The King was very much alarm'd at this News, and resolv'd to go over to *England* without Delay, that he might allay the Trouble his Absence had occasion'd there. But his Presence was not necessary. The Conspiracy was stifled almost in its very Birth by the Vigilance of the Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Regent. The two Earls had concerted Measures so ill, that they cou'd not even join the Forces each had drawn together. So that *Ralph de Glanvill* found himself constrain'd to retire to *Norwich Castle*, where he was immediately besiege'd. As he despair'd of Pardon in Case he fell into the King's Hands, he did not think fit to see the Issue of the Siege, but having found the Means to escape, he fled into *Denmark*. After his Departure, his Countess defended the Castle for some Time; but at length surrendered upon Terms. She had liberty given her to follow the Earl her Spouse, who had already procur'd

procur'd a powerful Aid from the King of Denmark to support the Revolters. Accordingly, soon after a Danish Fleet appear'd on the Coast of England. But the Danes not finding the English inclin'd to take up Arms, forthwith sail'd back again.

In the mean Time *William*, being return'd to *England*, was inform'd there were still some Remains of the Conspiracy in the Western Counties. To prevent the Fire from breaking out into a Flame again, he march'd with all speed towards those Parts, and severely punish'd all whom he suspected to have had a hand in the Plot. Some he order'd to be hang'd, others to have their Feet and Hands cut off, or their Eyes put out. They who came off the best were banish'd the Kingdom. The Pardon he had granted Earl *Walhöff* being counted for nothing, the Earl was apprehended, carried to *Winchester*, publickly beheaded, and buried under the Scaffold. It is said that his Riches were the principal Occasion of his Death, the King having a longing Desire to his great Estate: Others add, that *Judith* his Wife, did not a little contribute to his Ruin, exasperating the King against him by false Reports, that she might be at Liberty to marry elsewhere. Be this as it will, the unhappy Fate of this brave Earl was universally lamented. Every one thought he was too severely dealt with for so slight a Crime, tho' he had not obtain'd his Pardon. Some time after his Body was remov'd to *Croyland-Abbey*, where 'twas pretended it work'd divers Miracles, and accordingly He pass'd among the People for a true Martyr. The Abbot of *Croyland*, having encourag'd this Belief, was outed of his Monastery, by the King's Order, and *Ingulphus*, a Monk of *Montevraud*, was put in his Room. This is the same *Ingulphus*, who, notwithstanding his Obligations to *William*, has not fail'd to attest, in his History of *Croyland*, the Miracles wrought at *Walhoff's* Tomb.

Some of the
Conspira-
tors pu-
nished.

Hoved.
Ingulph.
Pol. Virg.
Walhoff
beheaded.
Ingulph.

Passe for
a Martyr.

1074.
The English
lith are
hardly
deals with.

Tho' the *English* were not concerned in the late Conspiracy, but on the contrary had refus'd to join the Male-contents, yet were they for all that no less punish'd. The King took it for granted they had privately fomented the Rebellion, and consequently depriv'd Some of their Estates, and Others of their Liberty. From this time *William of Malmsbury* dates the Servitude of the *English*. As much a *Norman* as he was, he plainly enough shows, from thenceforward the King had no manner of Regard for them. Hence it may be conjectur'd, that this Prince's Severity towards the *English* was very Great and Universal, since this Historian reckons as a Trifle, all that the King had done before with regard to the Spiritual and Temporal Lords.

1075.
William
goes to Nor-
mandy.
Hoved.
Hunt.

The Precautions *William* had taken to root out of the Minds of the People all Thoughts of revolting, having made him easy upon that Score, he went beyond Sea, to take Vengeance of *Ralph de Guader*, who was retir'd to his City of *Dol* in *Bretaign*. He was not satisfied with seizing all his Estates in *England*, but was resolv'd to deprive him also of his Hereditary Possessions. With this view, he went and besieg'd *Dol*, which he cou'd not however become Master of, the Defence of the Besieged having given the King of *France* time to come to their Assistance. *William* missing his Aim, return'd to *England*, where during the rest of that and the following Year, nothing remarkable happen'd, except a Council held at *London*, wherein was settled the Precedency of the Bishops.

Besieges
Dol.

1076.

1077.
Robert the
King's Son
wars a-
gainst his
Father.

The King enjoy'd then a Tranquillity which bid fair to be of a long Continuance, when an unexpected War put an End to it. *Robert*, his eldest Son, encourag'd by the King of *France*, pretended the King his Father ought to deliver up *Normandy* to him, in Pursuance of a positive Promise, which, he said, had been made him to that purpose. Upon this Foundation he attempted to

render

render himself absolute Master of the Dutchy, and even treated very ill such as refus'd to own him for their Sovereign. *William*, surpris'd at his Audaciousness, immediately drew an Army together wholly made up of *English*, for the Reason mention'd heretofore, and pass'd over into *Normandy* to put a Stop to his Son's Proceedings. *Robert* desisted not from his Design upon his Arrival; but vigorously oppos'd his Father, who saw himself necessitated to carry on the War in Form, finding in his own Son an Enemy not to be slighted. He happen'd one day to fall into an Ambush, where he was forc'd to expose his Person as much as the meanest Officer. He distinguish'd himself so by his Valour, that *Robert*, who knew him not looking upon him as the most formidable among his Enemies, assaulted him, wounded him in the Arm, and dismounted him with his Lance. *William* was in great Danger of losing his Life, if by good Fortune, *Robert* had not known him by some mark on his Arms. Then the young Prince, suddenly alighting, rais'd him up, and set him on his own Horse, that he might escape the Danger he was in. In the mean time, the *English* Troops being roughly handled by the *Normans*, *William* was oblig'd to retreat in Disorder. *Robert*'s being so very near killing his Father, made such an Impression upon his mind, that, to show the Sincerity of his Sorrow for it, he submitted himself entirely to his Mercy. But this generous Act cou'd not regain him the King's Paris. Favour, who never after had any Affection for him.

'Tis even said, that in the first Emotions of his Passion, Pol. Virg. he denounc'd his Curse against him, which all the Submissions of the young Prince cou'd not prevail with him to retract. However he gave him a kind Reception enough; but carried him into *England* with him, on Pretence to send him at the Head of an Army against *Scotland*. Accordingly, the next Year, *Robert* was commission'd to bring the *Scots* to reason who had renew'd the War.

1077.
Malm.
Hoved.
Fl. Wig.

*Wounds
him with-
out know-
ing him.*

Hoved.

Submits.

1078.
*Sent to
Scotland.*

1078.
Founds
New-
Castle.

He did nothing remarkable in this Expedition, except the Founding the Town of *Newcastle upon Tine*, in the same Place where the Abbey of *Monkester* stood, famous for the austere Lives of the Monks. This War ended in a Treaty between the two Nations.

*The Welsh
do Ho-
mages to
the King.*

Before the Army was disbanded, *William* being desirous to make himself some amends for the Charges he had been at in raising it, turn'd his Arms against *Wales*, in order to chastise the *Welsh* for some Incursions into his Dominions. The *Welsh* Princes finding they were in no Condition to withstand him, voluntarily submitted, and oblig'd themselves to pay an annual Tribute to the Crown of *England*.

*The Tower
of Lon-
don built.*

About this Time *William* built the famous Tower of *London*, the better to secure the City in obedience, whose Fidelity he had all along suspected. Some pretend this Citadel was founded by *Julius Cesar*. But 'twou'd be difficult to prove that *Cesar* was ever at *London*, and more so, that he undertook this Work, of which he makes no mention in his *Commentaries*.

*The King's
Conduct
during the
Peace.*

Malm.

The Peace with *Scotland*, and Submission of the *Welsh*, introduc'd a State of Tranquillity, which lasted some Years. The King took the Opportunity of this Calm to put in order the Affairs of the Kingdom. Ever since his Accession to the Crown, *England* had been in extreme Confusion, by reason of divers Alterations as well in the Government, as in the Laws and Methods of administering Justice. But this Confusion was still increas'd with regard to the Debts of private Persons. The Creditors imagin'd that they who had been put in Possession of the Estates were to pay the Debts of those that were turn'd out, and accordingly to them did the Debtors refer the Creditors for their Money. But the New Possessors refus'd to meddle with Matters that were liable to so many Frauds, and maintain'd that the King had

had granted them the Lands free from all Demands. Besides, the Proceedings at Law among the *Normans* being different from those among the *English*, they were at a Loss how to go to work, the King not having as yet determin'd any thing upon that Head.

If he had made any Regulations, 'twas only with a view to his own Advantage, and in such Cases wherein his Interest might be concern'd. As for private Persons, it does not appear that hitherto he had given himself much Trouble about them. 'Tis true indeed, they who have made it their Busines\$ to cry up all his Actions, remark the strict Justice that was exercis'd in his Reign, as an Argument of his Affection for his Subjects. But this Proof is not so strong as they imagine, since this Strictnes\$ turn'd no less to the King's than to the People's Advantage, seeing the suffering Crimes to go unpunish'd tends greatly to the Prejudice of the Supreme Authority. Besides, Offences, for the most Part, being punishable then by pecuniary Fines, all the Profit accrued to the King, who had depriv'd the Earls, Barons, and Bishops of the Share they enjoy'd under the *Saxon* Kings.

However this be, it can't be denied but *William*'s reigning Passion was a greedy Desire to heap up Riches. He was never weary with inventing the means to gratify his covetous Temper. We have already seen how he impoverish'd the *English*. But in this he acted as much or more for the Advantage of the *Normans* and other Foreigners, than for his own. He therefore judg'd it reasonable that the Foreigners who were Proprietors of Estates in *England*, shou'd be liable to the same Impositions as the *English*. But that he might proceed in due Proportion, he had a Mind to know the Value of every private Person's Estate. To this End, he order'd an exact Survey to be taken of the Lands, Goods, and Chattels of all his Subjects. This Survey contain'd the Number of Acres in each Man's Estate, what he was wont to pay in the

2078. the *Saxon* Reigns, and how much he had been tax'd of late Years since the *Revolution*. Moreover, what Stock each had of Horses, Cattle, Sheep, &c. How much ready Money in his House, what he ow'd, and what was owing to him. All this was set down in great order in a Book call'd *Doom's-day Book*, that is, *The Book of the Day of Judgment*, apparently to denote that the Means of the English were sifted and examined into in that Book, as the Actions of Mankind will be at that Great Day. This general Register, which some term the *Great Terror of England*, was put in the *Exchequer* or King's Treasury, to be consulted when Occasion ; that is to say, as an Historian expresses it, when they had a mind to know of how much more Wooll they might still fleece the English Flocks. The strict Orders the King gave to take this Survey with all possible Exactness, were punctually executed, the Commissioners, as well as private Persons, having good reason to dread an exemplary Punishment, in case they us'd any Fraud, or were guilty of the least Connivance on this Occasion *.

We

* This Survey was begun in the 14th and finish'd in the 20th of his Reign, the King having sent as Commissioners some of the greatest Earls and Bishops, who by the Verdict or Presentment of Juries, or certain Persons sworn in every County and Hundred, noted down the Particulars above mention'd according to the Value in the time of King Edward, express'd in *Doom's-day Book* by T. R. E. that is, *Tempore Regis Edwardi*. As this Survey was chiefly intended to give the King a true Account of his own Lands or *Demesnes*, and also what were held by the *Tenants in Chief* or of the Crown, in every County the King's Name is first set down, and then all the great Men in order that held in Chief. All England, except *Westmoreland*, *Cumberland*, and *Norumberland*, was described, with Part of *Wales*, and the Description or Survey written in two Books, call'd the *Great and Little Doom's-day Book*, now in the *Exchequer*. The little Book contains only *Norfolk*, *Suffolk* and *Essex*. This being the highest Record in the Kingdom, it was then (and is to this day) a decisive Evidence in any Controversy in which there may be Occasion to make use of it.

We may easily guess, this Survey was not taken purely to satisfy the King's Curiosity. The Taxes that were afterwards laid upon almost all the Effects of private Persons, were a clear Evidence, that his Intent was to leave the *English* no more than was absolutely necessary for their Subsistence. This Monarch, looking upon *England* as a conquer'd Country, imagin'd he was the great Proprietor of all the Lands in the Kingdom, and that the Vanquish'd were to deem what he was pleas'd to leave them, as a signal Favour. According to this Rule, 'tis easy to see that his Revenues were to be in Proportion to the Estates of the *English* and to his own Avariciousness. Not to enter into a particular Account of the several Branches of his Revenues, 'twill be sufficient to observe, that they amounted annually to four hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*, which Sum according to a moderate Computation is equal now to five Millions. Besides these settled Revenues, he had a great many Perquisites, as Mulcts and Fines, which were very frequent in those Days. But what is further remarkable in this Matter, is, that none of this Money was employ'd in paying the Army that was kept on Foot. In the Distribution of the Lands taken from the *English*, the King had taken Care to charge them with the Maintenance of his Troops. The new Proprietors were far from refusing to accept of their Estates upon that Condition, since they were indebted solely to his Liberality for them, they not having any Right to them. By this means there subsisted without any Manner of Charge to him, threescore thousand Men, ready to march upon the first Notice. 'Tis not at all strange, that he pass'd for the richest Prince in his Time, since his Incomes vastly exceeded his Out-goings, he not making use but of a small Part of the yearly Profits of the whole Kingdom.

1079.
The King
extremely
fond of
Hunting.

Makes
the New-
Forest.

Paris.

Ordic.Vit.

After *William* had thus settled his Revenues, he sought the Means to gratify another Passion, which bare almost as great a Sway over him as the former. I mean his Fondness for Hunting, which caus'd him to commit many unjust Acts. By which I don't understand those severe Laws he made on that Account, tho' they were exceeding rigorous. This does not properly distinguish him from many other Princes, who look upon the Infractions of the *Game-Laws*, as the most Capital of Crimes, and more readily pardon the killing of a Man than of a Stag. What I speak of was the prodigious Desolation *William* order'd to be made in *Hampshire*, by dispeopling the Country for above thirty Miles in Compas, demolishing the Churches and Houses to make a Forest for the Habitation of wild Beasts *. If we may believe certain Historians, he made not the Owners of the Lands or Houses the least Amends. This Tract of Land, call'd before *Tene*, was afterwards term'd the *New-Forest*. Some affirm, that besides the Diversion of Hunting, *William* had another Inducement to depopulate these Parts. They pretend his Aim was to give a free Access to the Troops which, in case of Necessity, he might send for from *Normandy*. But this Motive, which seems to be very trifling, was doubtless invented by those who, having entertain'd a great Idea of this Prince, were perswaded, that he was guided in all his Actions by Prudence and Politicks; as if Princes were not as subject to their Passions as other Men. Others having remark'd, that two of his Sons and one of his Grandsons lost their Lives in this very Forest by extraordinary Accidents, have concluded from thence, that Heaven took Vengeance for the Injuries done to the Proprietors of the Lands.

The

* There were 36 Parish Churches demolish'd. In this Forest are now 9 Walks, and to every one a *Keeper*; Two *Rangers*, a *Bow-bearer*, and a *Lord Warden*. On the North-side of *Malwood Castle* is the Oak that buds on *Christmas day*, and withers again before Night. *Camden. Add. to Hamp.*

The King's great Fondness for *Normandy* was another of his governing Passions. Every Thing practis'd there, was, in his Opinion, the Model of Perfection. Perswaded of This, he endeavour'd to abolish the *Saxon* Laws, and establish the *Norman* in their Room. Perhaps he wou'd have push'd this Matter further, had it not been represented to him, that the Laws of *England*, bearing the Name of his Benefactor, all the World would look with Horror upon his Ingratitude. However he made several Innovations in the *English* Laws and the Methods of administering Justice. For Instance, he wou'd not suffer the Bishops to preside at the *Shire-gemots* or County-Courts, but assign'd them a Court of their own. His Pretence for so doing was that *Ecclesiastical* Matters might not be intermix'd with the *Civil*. But the true Motive was because he had a Mind to cut off the Bishops from their Share of the Fines and Mulcts. He erected also several Courts before unknown to the *English*, and which were very incommodious to them. They were not only ignorant of the Rules and Practices of these Courts; but as they always attended the Prince, the *Suitors* were oblig'd to follow him wherever he went in order to carry on their *Actions*. Amongst these Courts there was one however which became very advantageous to the People; since it was design'd to moderate the Rigour of the Laws by Equity, I mean the *Court of Exchequer*, which is still in Being.

1079.
His Affection for
Normandy.
Baker.

1080.
He erects
Courts.
Pol. Virg.

William was not satisfied with obliging the *English* to *try* their Causes in these Courts, but forc'd them further to make use of the *Norman* Language, and did all he cou'd to abolish the *English* Tongue. With this View it was he erected in all the Cities and Burroughs Schools where *Norman* was taught, and obliged Parents under heavy Penalties to send their Children thither. I have elsewhere observ'd the Nature of the *Norman* Language, which was very difficult, and hardly to be understood by the *French* themselves, by reason of the great Mixture of *Danish* with the *French*. However the King was so bent to intro-

He endear-
upurs so
abolish the
English
Tongue.
Ingulph.

1080. duce his native Tongue, that he made it his chief Business. They who had any Concerns at Court and spoke not *Norman*, were lookt upon with an evil Eye, as Persons that had no Complaisance for the King. The most effectual Means he made use of to bring the *English* under a Necessity of learning *Norman*, was the publishing his Laws in that Tongue, the Ignorance of which was no sufficient Excuse for them who broke them. Some have accus'd him of acting in this Particular from a worse Motive. They pretend, that his Aim was to ensnare the *English* by causing them to commit Trespasses, which were generally punish'd by Mults and Confiscations for his Benefit. But supposing this were not so, as it must be confess'd it can't be prov'd, his covetous Temper, and the Methods he practis'd to heap up Riches, are but too just Grounds for such an Accusation.

To return to the *Norman* Language. There are those who affirm that in Spite of all his Pains, *William* cou'd not introduce it into *England*. On the contrary, they maintain, the *Normans*, by Degrees, learnt to speak *English*, their small Number being carried away by the Bulk of the Nation. Others, who are of a contrary Opinion, endeavour to make appear, that the *Norman* Tongue was establish'd upon the Ruins of the *English*. But 'tis a difficult Matter for either to make good their Assertions. Thus much is certain, that the Language spoken in *England* after the *Conquest*, was not exactly the same with what was us'd in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings. However it can't be said, that the *Normans* learnt *English*, or the *English*, *Norman*, but rather out of these two Languages was form'd a Third, which was neither one nor t'other, but partook of Both. Nevertheless, all publick Acts were in *Norman* till *Edward the Third's* Time.

*Remark on
the English
Tongue.*

1081. *William's* Partiality for the *Normans* was so great, that *The King's
Partiality
for the
Normans.
Ingulph.* he cou'd not forbear showing it upon all Occasions. *Ingulphus*, Abbot of *Croyland*, gives us an Instance which deserves

deserves Notice. He says, he appear'd one day before the Council, where the King was present, to demand certain Lands belonging to his Monastery, then in possession of *Talboys* a *Norman*, who had settled there some Monks of his own Nation. The King, continues the Historian, examining the original Charter or Grant of the *Abbey* Lands, judg'd at first that the Demand was right and just. But *Talboys* having alleg'd in his Defense, that the Monks he had settled on these Lands were *Normans*, and hearty Friends to the King, whereas Those of *Croyland* were *English*; this single Argument was of Force enough to induce the King to give Sentence in favour of the *Norman*. In doing This, He was bias'd by his natural Inclination and Interest. The Former made him favour his own Nation, and the Latter carried him to put it out of the Power of the *English* as far as possible to revolt.

What has hitherto been said of the Oppressions of the *English*, is sufficient to show, they did not complain without Cause. Perhaps their impatient Behaviour was the Occasion of them. But be that as it will, 'tis certain they were reduc'd extremely low, whilst they beheld the *Normans* enrich'd by their Spoils. A single Instance will make appear, how much they were pillag'd by those who were in greatest Credit with the King. *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, half-brother to *William*, after an Abode of 15 or 16 Years in *England*, thought himself rich enough to purchase the *Papacy*. With this view he had bought a stately Palace at *Rome*, where he design'd to go and reside, and to convey thither all his Treasures, that he might be ready upon the Pope's Death to put his Design in Execution. In the mean time, as he was willing to conceal his Intentions, he took the Opportunity to begin his Journey during the King his Brother's Absence in *Normandy*, and accordingly went to the *Isle of Wight*, where his Ships lay ready for him. Contrary Winds having prevented him from embarking so soon as he expected, he was forc'd to remain some Time in the Isle. His Stay there broke all his

1082. his Measures, *William* having had Intelligence of his Design, came over with all Speed, and surpris'd him just as he was going to sail. He order'd him to be seiz'd immediately. But finding Fear and Respect hindred his Officers from doing their Duty, he laid hands on him himself. In vain did the Prelate plead the Privileges of his Order. The King told him, he seiz'd him not as *Bishop*, but as *Earl of Kent*, and commanded him to be put into Prison. This Seizure was quickly follow'd with a Confiscation of all his Effects to the King's Use, numberless Extortions and Rapines having been prov'd upon him.

1084.
*Death of
the Queen.*
Malm.
Hoved.

*King of
Denmark
about
to invade
England.*

Hoved.

Nothing remarkable happening in the rest of this, and the next Year, I shall proceed to the Occurrences of the Year 1084, in which we meet with the Death of *Matilda*, *William's* Queen, and the King's Preparations against an Invasion he was threaten'd with. The *English* who had taken refuge in *Denmark*, had persuad'd *Canute* King of that Country that their Countrymen waited only for an Opportunity to throw off the *Norman* Yoke. This seeming to him a favourable Juncture, he form'd a Project to conquer *England*, to which Kingdom he had some Pretensions, which appear'd to him plausible enough, being back'd with Force. With this view he fitted out a Fleet, and levied some Troops, whose Numbers plainly shew'd he had some great Design in Hand. Those Preparations made *William* somewhat uneasy; the Advices from *Denmark* putting it past Doubt that this Armament was design'd against him. As he durst not confide in the *English*, he brought into the Kingdom a numerous Army of Foreigners, and laid upon his Subjects a Tax of six Shillings upon every *Hide* of Land, which was three times as much as *Dane-geld* us'd to be. Whether *Canute* was diverted from his Design by the Preparations that were making in *England*, or by some other unexpected Affairs, he drops it without making any Attempt. *William* for his Part, disbanded his Army; but the Money that was levied for their Pay was not refunded. On the contrary,

he impos'd a new Tax, on account of the Order of Knighthood he had a mind to confer on Henry his youngest Son. The Norman Custom of making the Prince Presents, when he knighted any of his Sons, tended too much to the King's Benefit not to be introduc'd into England, where it was never practis'd before.

1084.

'Twas no difficult Matter for *William* to lay what Bur-
then he pleas'd on his Subjects, since he had nothing more
to do than to say the Word in order to be obey'd. The
Normans took care how they oppos'd his Will, for fear
of running the Risk of losing their Estates the same way
they came by them, I mean, by a bare Act of his good
Pleasure; and the *English* were in no Condition to throw
off the Yoke he had laid on their Necks. There was
scarce a Lord of that Nation, but what was imprison'd or
banish'd. If there were any who had still preserv'd their
Liberty, they were watch'd so narrowly, that the least
Opposition, or the least Grounds of Suspicion, was e-
nough to ruin them. *Edgar Atheling*, who seem'd the
most formidable, depended entirely upon his Pension
from the King. Besides, since his voluntary Submission
to the *Conqueror*, he had forfeited the Hearts and Affecti-
ons of the *English* who look'd upon him now with the
utmost Contempt. An Historian even assures us that he
was in some Measure stupid. For Proof of which he
alleges, that for a Horse the King made him a Present of,
he remitted his Pension, which was given him for his
Subsistance. The ill State of his Affairs, and perhaps the
fear of falling a Sacrifice to the King's Suspicions, made him
resolve on going into the *East* to bear Arms against the
Infidels. The King having readily given him Leave, he
set out attended with two hundred Knights, who having
lost their Estates in *England*, were willing to make their
Fortune elsewhere. After he had spent two Years in the
Eastern Parts, where 'tis pretended, he signaliz'd himself
by many brave Actions, he return'd to *England*, having
refus'd the Estates and Honours offer'd him by the Em-
peror of *Constantinople*.

The State of
England.
Malm.

1085.
Edgar goes
into the
Earl.

Edgar's

1086.
William
wars a-
gainst
France.
Malm.

A Truce.

*Broken by
a Jeſt.*

1087.
William
burns
Mantes.

*Falls ill.
Hurts
himſelf a-
gainſt his
Saddle.
Ord. Vital.*

Edgar's Departure having made *William* easy upon his Score, every one imagin'd he wou'd for the future turn his Thoughts to Peace, which he had been a Stranger to almost from his very Birth. Besides, he was grown so corpulent and unwieldy, that a quiet Life seem'd absolutely necessary for him. But he was far from thinking any such Thing. All on a sudden he fell to making extraordinary Preparations, which plainly shew'd he had some great Design in View. And indeed, quickly after, he sets out for *Normandy*, in order to make fierce War with *France*. But *Philip* prevented the Evil he was threatned with, by offering Proposals, which were follow'd by a Truce. *William*, whose Corpulency was extremely troublesome to him, having taken this Opportunity to go thro' a Course of Physick, a Jeſt of King *Philip*'s occasion'd the Breaking of the Truce. This Prince having ask'd one that was come from *Roan*, *Whether the King of England was deliver'd yet of his great Belly?* *William*, being inform'd of the Matter, fent him Word, that as soon as he was up again, he wou'd come and offer in the Church of *Notre Dame at Paris*, ten thousand Lances by way of Wax-lights *. His Words were soon follow'd by Deeds; for marching in the very hottest Time of the Summer, he ravag'd the *Vexin* in a terrible Manner, and then laid Siege to *Mantes*. He was incens'd to that Degree, that after he had taken the City, he reduc'd it to Ashes, without sparing so much as the Churches, in one of which two *Hermits* were burnt. The Warmth of the Season, and the great Fire, which he stood very near to see his Orders put in Execution, threw him into a Fever, which interrupted his Progress. This was attended with another Accident, no leſs fatal to him. Whilſt he was on the Road in his Return to *Roan*, having a Mind to leap a Ditch on Horse-back, he ſo bruis'd the Rim of his Belly againſt the Pummel of the Saddle, that the Violence of the Blow

very

* Alluding to the Custom of lying-in-women in those Days, who were wont to offer lighted Candles at their Churſing.

very much increas'd his Fever. After this Accident, not being able to mount his Horse, he was carried in a Litter to *Rouen*, where he grew worse and worse. As soon as he found he was near his End, he began seriously to look back on all the past Actions of his Life, and to view them in a different Light from what he had hitherto done. He order'd large Sums to be given to the Poor and to the *Churches*, particularly towards the rebuilding Those he had burnt at *Mantes*. He set at Liberty all the Prisoners, among whom were *Morchar* and *Ulnoth*. This Last, who was Brother to King *Harold*, had been detain'd in Prison in *Normandy* from his Childhood, having been given in Hostage by Earl *Goodwin* to *Edward the Confessor*. It was a very difficult Matter to obtain the like Favour for the Bishop of *Bayeux* the King's Brother, because he had sworn never to release him. However he was prevail'd upon by the Importunities of the Bishop's Friends. His Distemper daily increasing, put him out of all Hopes of Recovery, and therefore ordering his principal Officers to stand round his Bed, in Spite of his Weakness, he made them a long Discourse, wherein he dwelt much on the great Reputation he had gain'd by his Warlike Actions. Nevertheless he cou'd not forbear owning that he had unjustly usurp'd the Crown of *England*, and was guilty of all the Blood spilt upon that Occasion. He added, that as he durst not bequeath a Crown, which of Right belong'd not to him, he left it to God's Disposal: but if he cou'd have his Wish, *William*, his second Son, shou'd wear it after him. In his *Will*, which he made just before he died, he left the Duchy of *Normandy* to his eldest Son *Robert*, not so much out of Affection, as because he fore-saw great Obstacles in the Execution of his *Will* should he do otherwise. *Henry* his Third Son had for his Share an Annuity of five thousand Marks *, with all his Mother's Effects. This was all his Portion. 'Tis said, the young Prince complaining at his being so ill provided for, the King told him by a Prophetick Spirit, that he should one

*Givet
Alms.
Sets the
Prisoners
as Liberty,*

*Owning his
usurping
the Crown
of England,*

*Pol. Virg.
Malm.*

* *Vitalis* says, he left him only 5000 Marks in Money.

303.
Day be King of *England*, and exceed his Brother in Glory and Riches. But one can hardly believe, that God shou'd communicate himself to a Prince such as he was.

Tho' the dying King had left his Crown to God's disposal, he omitted however nothing that lay in his Power to secure it to his second Son. He wrote upon that Head to *Lanfranc* a very pressing Letter, which he order'd his Son *William*, even before his Death, to carry himself. No doubt, he thought that Prince wou'd meet with too strong an Opposition in *England*, in case necessary Measures were not taken beforehand, to gain the Consent of the *Normans* and *English*. Having thus settled his Temporal Affairs, he cau'd himself to be remov'd to the Village of *Hermenstrade*, (on the other side the *Seine* over against *Roan*) that he might be more at Liberty to think of his Spiritual Concerns. Here it was this Prince ended his Days on the 9th of *September*, in the Sixty-first Year of his Age, after he had reign'd 42 Years in *Normandy*, and 21 in *England*. If we may believe some of his Historians, he express'd on his Death-bed a hearty Sorrow for all the Injuries he had done the *English*. His Body was remov'd to *Caen* without any Ceremony, and deposited in the *Abbey-Church*, which he himself had founded, and where he had chosen to lye. *Robert* his eldest Son, being then in *Germany*, and *William* in *England*, his youngest Son *Henry* took care of his Funeral.

Brompton The Corps was but poorly attended for so great a Prince, his principal Officers having abandon'd him before he expir'd, some to make their Court to *Robert*, others to *William*. An extraordinary Adventure render'd the Funeral of this Monarch very remarkable. Just as they were going to lay him in his Grave. [*Anselm Fitz-Arthur*] a *Norman* Gentleman, stands up and forbids the Burial in that Place, claiming the Ground as his Inheritance, and alledging that the deceas'd had built the Church upon it, without paying him for it. Upon which they were forc'd to stop, according to the Laws of the Country,

Book VI. I. WILLIAM the Conqueror.

try, in order to examine into the Validity of his Pretensions; which proving well grounded, *Henry* was oblig'd to make him Satisfaction, and then the Corps was interr'd.

Thus liv'd and died *William I.* surnam'd the *Bastard* Remarks
on the first
name of *Conqueror*, if this last Title may be justly attributed to him, which all Historians do not agree to. They Conquer-
that maintain he is justly stil'd so, found their Opinion or upon his having no manner of Right to the Crown of *England*, as well as upon the Severity of his Government which was all along Arbitrary. Others affirm, that his Election entirely cancell'd his Right of Conquest. The uncertainty of this Matter gives occasion to compare him in this respect to the Emperor *Augustus*, of whom 'tis said, he came to the Empire neither by *Conquest* nor *Usurpation*, nor *Inheritance*, nor *Election*; but by a strange mixture of all these together. But however this be, or in what manner soever *William* may be accus'd or justified upon this Score, the kept possession of the Throne he got into, by such Politick Methods, as are practis'd by the most able Princes, but which are seldom consonant to Justice and Equity.

Historians have drawn this Prince's Character variously, according to the different Lights they had a mind to place him in. Some viewing him only as a Conqueror of a great Kingdom, have extoll'd him to the Skies for his Valour and Prudence, and slightly pass'd over the rest of his Actions. Others consideriug the same Conquest as no better than a downright Usurpation, and reflecting chiefly on the Means he made use of to preserve it, have not scrupled to represent him as a real Tyrant. 'Tis certain, they may be all in the Right, since this Monarch had a great mixture of good and bad Qualities. He was reckon'd one of the wisest Princes of his Time. Ever vigilant and active, he show'd as great Resolution in executing, as Boldness in forming his Designs. He saw Danger at a distance, and generally endeavour'd to prevent

*Character:
of William
the Con-
queror.
Malm.*

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it, But when that cou'd not be done, no Man faced it with greater Intrepidity. On the other Hand, his coveteous Temper, and Partiality for his Countrymen, put him upon doing many things, which can hardly be justified.

In his younger Years, he was handsome and very well proportion'd. He had rather a stern and majestick, than a mild and taking Countenance ; but however, he cou'd sometimes put on such Sweetness and Gentleness in his Looks, as were hardly to be resisted. We may gues at his great Strength and Vigour from Historians assuring us, none but himself cou'd bend his Bow. The same Historians are very much divided concerning his Chastity, Some tell us, he was very much addicted to Women in his Youth : Others say, his little Inclination that way, gave occasion of calling his Manhood in Question. Some affirm, that after he was married, he never gave his Queen any cause to be Jealous. Others assure us, he kept for his Mistress a Clergyman's Daughter, whom *Maud* caus'd to be Ham-string'd. Be this as it will, after he was seated on the Throne of *England*, 'tis observ'd, Hunting was his sole Diversion. His Family Affairs were perfectly well regulated ; but his Expences were not in proportion to his Greatness and Riches. Nevertheless, upon solemn Occasions, he lov'd Magnificence, and took a Pleasure in appearing in all his Grandeur. Seldom did he fail of being crown'd anew every Year, at the three great Feasts of *Christmas*, *Easter*, and *Whitsomide*, which he generally spent at *Gloster*, *Winchester*, and *Westminster*. During these Festivals he kept a splendid Court, was much more easy of Access and liberal of his Favours. The Great Men of the Kingdom were usually about him, whilst these Solemnities lasted ; but one can hardly be perswaded 'twas in order to hold a *Witten-Gemot* or Parliament, as some do affirm. And indeed, there is no likelihood, that after he had depriv'd the *Englis* of their Estates, he shou'd

shou'd leave them in possession of the greatest of their Privileges. 'Tis still less likely that he wou'd transfer this Right over to Foreigners, since he was at Liberty to grant them the *English* Estates on what Terms he pleas'd. Now 'tis certain, that his Temper was such, that he wou'd never voluntarily render himself dependent on his own Subjects. However this be, if the *Saxon Witten-Gemot* subsisted in his Reign, one may at least affirm, his Authority was very much curtail'd, and its Nature very different from what it had been.

There are Historians, who mightily cry up this Prince's Clemency, on account of his being very often satisfied with punishing the *English* Rebels, by the Confiscation of their Estates. It can't be denied but what they say is true, with regard to Persons of the first Rank. Indeed, except Earl *Walhöff*, who was publickly beheaded, and *Egelwin*, Bishop of *Durham*, who was starv'd in Prison, we don't find any of the principal *English* Lords put to Death in this Reign. But we can't with Justice extol his Clemency with respect to Persons of a lower Rank. 'Tis certain, he put great numbers of them to Death, caus'd their Eyes to be put out, or the Hands and Feet to be cut off of many others, and condemn'd abundance to perpetual Imprisonment for very small Crimes. All the Historians unanimously upbraid him with the Death of Earl *Walhöff*, as an Action the most heinous; since he beheaded him for a Crime he had already pardon'd. But this Act of Severity was in some measure made amends for by his moderation towards Prince *Edgar*, who had furnish'd him with Pretences enough to sacrifice him to his Jealousy. Perhaps, the little Merit of this Prince was the only Motive of his Clemency; since *William* never look'd upon him as a very formidable Rival. But after all, I don't think we ought to rob him of the Honour due to him upon this Score, seeing we know not the Grounds of his Clemency towards him. How little formidable soever

Edgar

1087. *Edgar* might be with regard to his Personal Qualities, yet it can't be denied but that he might be so on account of his Birth. He was the only surviving Prince of the Royal Family of the *Saxons*, and as he had been made a Handle to several Insurrections, the King cou'd not be entirely secure on his Account.

This Issue.

William had by *Maud* Daughter to the Earl of *Flanders*, four Sons and five Daughters. *Robert* was Duke of *Normandy*. *Richard* was kill'd by a Stag in the *New-Forest*, or, as others say, he caught, as he was Hunting a Distemper of which he died in his Father's Life-time. *William* mounted the Throne of *England*, and was succeeded by *Henry* his Brother. *Cicely*, his eldest Daughter was Abbess of the Nunnery of *Caen*. *Constance* was married to *Alain Fergeant* Duke of *Bretaign*. *Adela* was Wife to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by whom she had a Son of the same Name, whom we shall see King of *England*. *Margaret*, who was promis'd to *Harold*, died young. *Alfonso* King of *Galicia* married the Fifth, whose Name was *Eleonor*. She is said to have remain'd a Virgin after Marriage, and being entirely devoted to the Service of God, to have spent her Days in the constant Exercise of Prayer.



SECT.



Facing p. 307. Vol. 2.



Fortescue



S E C T. II.

2. WILLIAM II. *Sirnam'd RUFUS.*



WHILST the Conqueror was taken up WILLIAM in Normandy with the Thoughts of Dying, William his Son, was concerting in England all necessary Measures to secure to himself the Crown, in pursuance of his Father's Intentions. Dispatch was so much the more necessary on this Occasion, as he had reason to

fear, that in case Robert his Brother cou'd come in Time, he wou'd gain the People to his Side. His Business therefore was to secure beforehand the Normans to his Interest, who being in Possession of all the Fiefs and all the Places in the Kingdom, were properly the Persons that were to bear the greatest Sway in the ensuing Election. However the English were by no means to be neglected,

least

1087. least joining with *Robert's Friends*, they might incline the Balance to his Side. In the mean time *William* was belov'd by neither Party. The *English* found him too like the King his Father, and the *Normans*, who knew him still better, dreaded his rough Temper. On the other hand, *Robert* had the Right of Primogeniture, to plead in his Favour; whereas *William* cou'd support his Pretensions, only by the bare desire his Father had show'd, of having him for his Successor. But this bare Indication of his Will, without any express Nomination, was far from being sufficient, Nay, in all likelihood it wou'd never have had the Effect the dying King propos'd to himself, if before the News of his Death had reach'd *England*, Care had not been taken to prepare the Minds of the People. 'Twas with this View, that he had sent over his Son with all Speed, that he might in conjunction with *Lanfranc* and some other Lords labour to bring about his Design. *Endo* High Treasurer, and *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury* were very serviceable to young *William* on this Occasion. The first had secur'd *Dover*, *Winchester*, *Pevensey*, *Hastings* and some other Places on the South Coasts. Moreover, he deliver'd up to him the late King's Treasures, which amounted to sixty Thousand Pounds in Money, besides Plate and Jewels of a much greater value. *Lanfranc*, who was both esteem'd and belov'd by the *English*, as well as by the *Normans*, made use of all his Credit in his Favour. His Pains were crown'd with so good Success, that in a little Time he gain'd over to his Party, the leading Lords of both Nations. To these were added other Means, which serv'd to incline the Minds of the People to *William's* Side. It was spread abroad among the *English*, that this Prince had made a firm Resolution to govern in a very different manner from the King his Father; that he would hearken to their just Complaints, and abolish the too rigorous Laws enacted since the *Revolution*, particularly the Laws relating to the *Game*. In fine, they had Assurances given them from him

Daniel.

him, that they shou'd be restor'd in Part to their Estates, and ancient Privileges. On the other hand, the *Normans* were told, that the best way to keep what they had got, was to confirm the Conqueror's Choice; that the young Prince, being plac'd on the Throne, wou'd be led by his own Interest, to stand by them, since his and their Rights wou'd stand on the same Bottom, namely, the Will of the late King. *Robert*, being absent, had but few Friends to sollicite his Causē. The uncertainty People were in, which Side to take at his Return, made such as had been inclin'd to favour him, afraid to declare their Minds openly. They fore-saw the ill Consequences of such a Proceeding, in case he shou'd not think fit to support them. Besides, this Party had no one to Head them, *William* had taken care to keep *Ulnoth* and *Marchar* in Prison, notwithstanding his Father's Orders to the contrary, for fear they shou'd put themselves at the Head of the *English*, whom he did not take for his Friends. All these Circumstances manag'd by *Lanfranc* and other Adherents to Prince *William*, having concurr'd to pave his way to the Throne, he was crown'd the 27th of September, eighteen Days after his Father's Death.

This Prince, surnam'd *Rufus* from his being red-hair'd, was thirty Years of Age, when he ascended the Throne. In all appearance, he was indebted for his good Fortune, to *Robert*'s disobliging the King his Father, who never forgave him for revolting. And indeed, the Younger had nothing that gave him the Preference to the Elder. The only good Quality remarkable in him was his great Courage, which however was hardly to be distinguish'd from a Brutish Fierceness. He was extremely ill-natur'd, which having never been corrected by Education, carried him very often to commit Actions unworthy a Prince. Bred up to Arms from his Youth, and at a Court where he continually beheld Instances of Severity and absolute Power, he was a perfect Brute in

1087.
Brompton

Hoved.

William
crown'd.
Eadmer.
Ord. Vital.
His Cha-
racter.

1087. his Behaviour and Manners. To these ill Qualities he join'd a great Indifferency for Religion, and his whole Conduct show'd he never troubled himself about Honour or Honesty. He was as greedy of Money as his Father, but with this difference, the Father heap'd up Money purely for the sake of hoarding, and very unwillingly parted with it; whereas the Son lov'd it not but to squander it away in vain Expences, wherein he was ever guided more by Caprice than Reason. However in the beginning of his Reign, as it was his Interest to hide his Inclinations, for fear of alarming his Subjects, he put on a Mask for some Time. 'Twas even observ'd with Pleasure, that he affected to be guided by the Counsels of *Lanfranc*, who was universally esteem'd and belov'd. 'Twas chiefly the Deference he show'd at first for this wise Counsellor, that made the *English* hope for a happy Change in their Fortune, and prevented them from giving Ear to the Sollicitations of those who wou'd have persuad'd them to espouse the Cause of *Robert*.

1088. But whilst the Confidence he plac'd in this Prelate
Conspira-
ry against
 William.
 Malm.
 Hoved.
 Dunelm.
 Ord. Vital.
 was of Service to him with regard to the *English*, it occasion'd such Troubles from another Quarter as shook him in his Throne. *Odo*, his Uncle, Bishop of *Bayeux*, who was lately deliver'd out of Prison, cou'd not bear to see *Lanfranc* in so great Favour. He had harbour'd in his Breast a secret Animosity against the Archbishop, ever since his advising the King to seize him, just as he was upon the Point of going for *Rome*. This private Hatred, join'd to a Desire of ruling again as he had done formerly, set him at work, how to depose the King and place the Crown on the Head of *Robert*, who was lately return'd to *Normandy*. He wanted not a Pretence to countenance his Enterprize. *Robert's* Birth-Right furnish'd him with a plausible one enough. As soon as he had resolv'd upon the Matter, he drew into the Plot some of the principal *Norman* Lords. 'Twas necessary

necessary for him to begin with them, since without their Aid, the *English* were able to do nothing. This Step being taken, and several more being gain'd over to his Party, 'twas no difficult Matter to per-swade the *English* to come in to their Schemes. As they were depriv'd, for the most Part, of their Estates, they were in hopes the Commotions, which were going to be rais'd in the Kingdom, by the Dif-sentions between the two Brothers, wou'd turn to their Advantage. In order to confirm both *English* and *Normans* in the Resolution they had taken, *Odo* represented to them, that there was no living happily under the Government of a capricious and brutish Prince, who had neither Religion nor Honesty; *That* they had reason to dread the worst, if they gave him Time to establish himself on the Throne, and therefore, if they delay'd to take proper Measures to screen them from the Evils that hung over their Heads, it wou'd perhaps be too late, when they shou'd have a Mind to do it. He added, that Justice itself requir'd, that the Crown shou'd be given to the First-Born, to which he had a very lawful Right, and of which he had not deserv'd to be depriv'd. These Considerations were back'd with Assurances of the Uprightness and Generosity of *Robert*. He set off his mild and gracious Disposition, which put them in hopes of enjoying under his Government the Tranquillity, they so earnestly wish'd for.

Whether the Right of Primogeniture had any Weight with these Lords, or whether *William's* ill Temper made them wish for a new Master, thay readily clos'd in with the Prelate's Notions. Each promis'd to do his utmost to help forward the Design, provided *Robert* wou'd exert himself likewise, and bring over Succours from *Normandy*. The *Norman* Lords who were in the Conspiracy, bestirr'd themselves so heartily, that they quickly gain'd over almost All Those who had any Interest with their

1088. Countrymen. As soon as the Archbishop was secure of the Assistance of Those of his own Nation, whom he judg'd much more capable of serving *Robert* than the *English*, he sent word to that Prince, that nothing was wanting but his Presence with a Body of *Norman* Troops, to put him in Possession of the Crown his Brother had unjustly usurped. As this News cou'd not but be very agreeable to the Duke, he was not long resolving upon so advantageous a Proposal. But as he had not Money enough to defray the Expences of so great an Undertaking, he took up some of his Brother *Henry*, and mortgag'd to him the whole Country of *Cotentin* for his Security. This being done, he sent his Uncle Word, he wou'd not fail of coming to *England* with all Expedition, and desir'd him to get all Things ready for the Execution of their Designs.

*Robert
borrows
Money of
his brother
Henry.
Brompton*

The Conspirators take up arms. As soon as the *Norman* Lords were certifyed of *Robert's* Resolution, they began to stir. The Bishop of *Constance* with *Mowbray* his Nephew, made themselves Masters of *Bath* and *Barklay-Castle*, and fortified *Bristol* in order to make it their chief Magazin. *Roger Bigod* in *Norfolk*, *Hugh Granmenil* in *Leicestershire*, seiz'd upon several Places. *Roger de Montgomery*, *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard of Newarck*, *Roger Lacy*, *Ralph Mortimer* secur'd *Worcestershire*. In a word, there was not a Lord among the Conspirators but what fortified himself in some City. Had *Robert* come over at that Time, in all likelihood he wou'd have dethron'd his Brother. But his natural Slothfulness, and the unnecessary Things he had laid out his Money upon, made him lose so good an Opportunity. On the contrary, *William*, who was of a quite different Temper omitted nothing to stifle the Conspiracy, whilst his Brother's Indolence afforded him Time. The most effectual Means, he made use of, was the gaining the *English* to his Side, in which *Lanfranc's* Interest was very serviceable to him. This Prelate, who in the late Reign, had carried it very fair with the *English*, us'd all his

*Lanfranc
does the
King great
service.*

his Credit with them, to induce them to stand by the King at this Juncture. By his Sollicitations and Pains, he brought back to their Duty such as had already a hand in the Conspiracy, and perswaded the Rest to continue firm to the King. So that, in a very little Time, *William* was enabled to send out a Fleet, whilst with an Army of *Englishmen*, he march'd against *Odo* his Uncle, whom he justly look'd upon as the Ring-leader of the Rebels. The Prelate had fortify'd himself in *Kent*, where he had made himself Master of *Rochester* and *Pevensey*. As soon as he was inform'd of the King's Approach, he shut himself up in *Pevensey*, where he was in Hopes he shou'd be able to hold out, 'till such Time as the Duke of *Normandy* should come to his Assistance. But as he was more hot than courageous, and had for want of Fore-sight even neglected to provide things necessary for his Defence, the Castle was taken in a few Days by the furious Assaults of the King. *Odo* cou'd obtain his Pardon upon no other Terms but the getting *Rochester* to surrend're, where the chief of the *Norman* Lords had shut themselves up, under the Command of *Eustace Earl of Bulegn*. To this Purpose he was conducted to the Gates of *Rochester*, where he made as if he was willing the Governor shou'd deliver up the City. But *Eustace* observing by his Looks, that he did not speak from the bottom of his Heart, detain'd him Prisoner, and so furnish'd him with a plausible Excuse for the Breach of his Promise.

The King attacks Odo.
Sax. Ann.
Ord. Vital.

Hove.
Brompton

William, being out of hopes of becoming Master of *Rochester* by the Means of *Odo*, found himself oblig'd to lay Siege to it. He was six Weeks before the Town without making any Progress, the Besieg'd still making so brave a Defence, that he already began to despair of Success. But at length a contagious Distemper, which daily swept off Numbers of them, constrain'd them to come to a Capitulation. 'Twas no easy

He besieges Rochester.
Hunting.

easy Matter to agree upon the Terms. At length, after a great many Debates, the King granting them the Liberty to march off with their Horses, without any Hopes of ever enjoying their Estates and Places again. The Bishop of Bayeux, being by this Means reduc'd to a low Ebb, retir'd to the Duke of Normandy, who committed to him the Administration of the Affairs of the Dutchy. The Siege of Rochester had furnish'd the Duke with a good Opportunity to make a Diversion in some other Part of the Kingdom. But, by an inexcusable Neglect, he lost the Advantage of so favourable a Juncture. Instead of going himself into England, with Forces proportionable to the Greatness of his Enterprise, he contented himself with sending over a single Ship with some Soldiers, who were all taken and drown'd.

*Negligence
of Robert.
Brompton
Hoved.*

*The King
goes againſt
the Bishop
of Durham
and banish-
es him.*

William, being Master of Rochester, he march'd his Army towards Durham, to chastise the Bishop, who was one of the Rebels. As the Garrison at that Place was of no Strength, the City was quickly oblig'd to surrender, and the Bishop with all that had taken Arms against the King were banish'd. Thus this Conspiracy, which seem'd to have so dangerous an Aspect, was crush'd by the Vigour and good Conduct of William, who equally made use of Prudence and Force to bring the Rebels to Reason. He not only had gain'd over, by his Address, Montgomery, but also several other Norman Lords, whose Defection gave a great Blow to Robert's Party. By his secret Emissaries, he had made them sensible, that they were mightily in the wrong to act against him : That seeing they held their Estates by Virtue of no other Right, but what he had acquir'd the Crown by, it was manifestly

nifestly their Interest to stand by him. On the other Hand, he gave an Instance of the greatest Prudence in beginning with his Uncle's Destruction, who was the Author of the Conspiracy. But his Success on this Occasion was chiefly owing to his Expedition.

As the *English* had show'd themselves ready to assist him in his Necessity, they expected to be rewarded in proportion to their Services. But 'twas not long before they perceiv'd, they flatter'd themselves with vain Hopes. Whilst he stood in need of their Assistance, he gave them fair Words: but as soon as he saw himself well settled in the Throne, he forgot his Promises. He even began to oppress them with several Impositions: in which he show'd still less Moderation than the late King. He was gently admonish'd of these Proceedings by *Lanfranc*, who cou'd not forbear putting him in Mind of what he had promis'd. How careful soever this Prelate might be to make use of the most respectful Terms, *William* was extremely offended, and ask'd him in an angry Tone and with an Oath, *Whether he thought it possible for a King to keep all his Promises?* From thence-forward the Archbishop was quite out of Favour, neither did the King afford him one kind Look. But his Disgrace was of no long Continuance. He died quickly after, lamented by both Nations, as one of the most worthy Prelates, that had been promoted to the See of *Canterbury*, ever since the Conversion of the *Saxons*.

Whilst *Lanfranc* was alive and at Court, the Presence of so venerable a Man was some Check to the King's vicious Inclinations. But as soon as he was rid of this Prelate, who had an Awe over him, he threw off all Restraint.

*Tyrannical
Proceed-
ings of the
King.*

1088.

Restraint. More especially he gave a loose to his Natural Desire of heaping up Money in order to squander it away again in a vain and extravagant Manner. Avaricious without Frugality, Covetous and prodigal at the same time, continually scraping up Money without ever filling his Coffers, he was always in Want, and under a Necessity of inventing perpetually new Ways and Means of raising Money. One of his Methods, never before practis'd in *England*, was to seize upon the vacant Benefices. He was not satisfied with having the *First-Fruits*, but appropriated the whole Profits to himself for sever'l Years together without filling them. And after he had carried off every thing that was convertible into Money, he sold them so pill'd to such as bid Highest, without troubling himself about their Merit or Capacity. As soon as the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was Vacant by *Lanfranc's* Death, he seiz'd upon the *Temporalities*, and kept them in his hands four Years. He did the same with the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, and all others that became *Void* in his Reign. They who have written the Life of this Prince, being most of them *Monks* or *Ecclesiasticks*, have bitterly inveigh'd against him on this Score. They so frequently insist on this Head, that there is no room to doubt but that it was one of the principal Motives, which induc'd them to blacken his Reputation to the utmost of their Power. However this be, his Proceedings occasion'd loud Clamours among the Clergy; but the King never minded them at all. 'Twas in vain that they carried their Complaints to the Pope. The Court of *Rome* as Matters then stood there, durst not intermeddle in this Affair. The *Church* was rent by a *Schism*, wherein *England* was not as yet engag'd. Besides *Urban II*, to whom the *English* Clergy made Application, was then taken up with projecting the Recovery of the *Holy-Land*, in which Enterprise he had form'd a Design of engaging all the Princes of *Christendom*. It was not possible therefore for

*He Seizes
the Vacant
Benefices.*
Thorn.

for the Pope, nor consistent with his Interest to fall upon *William* at such a Juncture. 1089.

This Monarch had reason to be satisfied with the Possession of a Crown, which he had no just Grounds ever to expect. This single Consideration no doubt shou'd have induc'd him to behave so towards *Robert*, his Brother, as might have contributed to the making him sit down easy under the Injury he had done him. But neither Duty nor Brotherly Affection cou'd weigh down in his Mind the Desire of becoming Master of all his Father's Dominions. He no sooner saw himself settled in the Throne of *England* but he form'd a Design to conquer *Normandy*. Perhaps to his greedy Temper was added the Desire of being reveng'd for the Duke his Brother's Attempt to dethrone him. Be this as it will, after he had made extraordinary Preparations, the Design of which *Robert* never suspected, he went and made a Descent in *Normandy*. He quickly became Master of St *Valeri*, *Albemarle* and some other Places, whilst *Robert* was unprovided to oppose this Invasion.

The Necessity the Duke was in of applying to a Foreign Power, oblig'd him to implore the Protection of the King of *France*, who came in Person to his Assistance. But he was not much the better for these Succours. *William* who understood how to make use of Cunning as well as Force, found the Means to make *Philip* his Friend, who retir'd without doing any thing, leaving *Robert* expos'd, as before, to the Insults of his Brother. By the King of *France*'s Retreat, the Duke's Affairs were in a worse Condition than ever, for having depended upon his Aid, he had taken no other Measures. *William* took from him several other Places, and brib'd some of the Burghers of *Roan*, who pro-

1090.

mis'd to deliver up the Metropolis of *Normandy* into his Hands.

Prince Henry joins his Brother, Robert.

In the mean time, *Robert* was in great Straits. He had nothing to depend upon, but the Assistance of *Henry* his youngest Brother: but he had scarce any reason to expect any Favour from Him. *Henry* was exasperated against the Duke for having taken Possession of *Coentin* without having paid him his Debt, and was preparing to do himself Justice by Force of Arms. Nevertheless upon *Robert's* promising to make him Satisfaction, as soon as the War was over, he dropt his Design and even espous'd his Cause. His Assistance came very seasonably, to extricate the Duke out of the Danger he was in. *Henry* having been inform'd of the Plot that was contriving at *Roan*, enter'd the City on a sudden, and seising *Conon*, the Chief of the Conspirators, he threw him headlong from a Tower. By this bold stroke, he quash'd the Conspiracy, which had it succeeded, wou'd have occasion'd to *Robert* the Loss of his Capital, and, in all probability, of his whole Dominions.

1091.
Peace between the King and Duke.
Fl. Wig.
Ord. Vital.
Malm.

The Union of the two Brothers and the ill Success of the Plot at *Roan*, put a stop to *William's* Progress, who quickly after was oblig'd to strike up a Peace with the Duke. The Articles of the Treaty were, that *Robert* shou'd deliver up to the King the Country of *Eu* and Towns of *Fescamp* and *Cherburgh*, with all the Places he was in possession of on the Coast of *Normandy*. *William* for his Part, oblig'd himself to assist him in reducing to Obedience the Province of *Maine* which had revolted, to restore to the *Normans* all their confiscated Estates in *England*, and to grant some certain *Fiefs* to his Brother in the same Kingdom. Lastly, 'twas agreed, that if either of the two Brothers died without Heirs, the Survivor shou'd succeed to all his Dominions. This Treaty
was

was solemnly sworn to by twelve Barons on each side, 1091.
and the Brothers seem'd thoroughly reconcil'd.

But if these two Princes were pleas'd with what had Henry been done, their younger Brother was not so. He ^{seizes upon} St. Michael's Mount, Malm. was not only left out in this Treaty, but he found that *Robert* was not at all dispos'd to keep his word with him. Incens'd at this Treatment, he thought it lawful to right himself by some other Means, and on a sudden surpris'd St. Michael's Mount. This unexpected Blow startled *Robert*, who being unwilling to leave a Place of that Importance in the hands of his Brother, desir'd William's Assistance to retake it. Tho' William had no manner of Concern in this Affair, he readily join'd Robert in besieging or rather blocking up this Place situated on a Rock, which the Sea by flowing round it twice a Day renders inaccessible.

Whilst the two Brothers lay before St. Michael's *An Ad-
Mount*, it happen'd that William, as he was riding alone ^{venture of} William & Knygton at some distance from the Camp, saw two Horsemen coming from the Mount. As he was naturally of an impetuous Temper, he rid up to them in order to try to take one of them Prisoner, that he might be inform'd of the State of the Place. The Soldiers, finding they had to deal with a single Person only, defended themselves, and at the first Encounter kill'd his Horse under him, which fell upon him in such a manner as he cou'd not get up. This Accident wou'd have cost him his Life, if the Moment one of the Soldiers was going to kill him, he had not cried out, *Hold, Rascal, I am the King of England*. Upon which, they were struck with Fear and Respect and having help'd him up, they gave him one of their Horses. He nimbly vaulted into the Saddle, and then addressing himself to him that had dismounted him, *Come, said he to him, thou shalt be my Soldier for the future, and shalt enjoy the Reward of thy Valour.*

Tho'

1091.
Generali-
sty of Ro-
bert to-
wards
Henry.

Tho' the Siege went but slowly on, *Henry* was driven to great Straits for Want of Water. However as he was acquainted with *Robert's* good Nature, he did not despair of some Relief from thence, by representing to him, that it wou'd be more glorious to subdue him by *Arms*, than by *Thirst*. *Robert*, who was naturally Generous, sent him immediately, a Tun of Wine, and permitted him to fetch as much Water as he stood in need of. *William* having upbraided him as guilty of Folly in acting thus, *What*, replied he, is the *Quarrel between us and our Brother of that Importance*, that we shou'd desire he shou'd die with *Thirst*? We may have Occasion for a Brother hereafter: but where shall we find another when we have destroy'd This? But *William*, not at all pleas'd with this generous Act, which to him seem'd very ill-tim'd, quitted the Siege and return'd to *England*. However *Robert* persisted, notwithstanding all Difficulties, to carry on the Siege, 'till he brought his Brother to surrender upon Terms. *Henry* having Liberty to go where he pleas'd, wandered up and down for some time without any fix'd Abode, attended only by a Chaplain and three or four Domesticks.

Robert takes the Mount.

Hoved.

About the same Time, *Robert* banish'd *Edgar Atheling* out of *Normandy*, and *William* forbid him ever returning into *England*. The Cause of his Disgrace is unknown; 'tis only said he retir'd into *Scotland*, his only Refuge in his Misfortunes.

Whilst *William* was taken up in *Normandy*, *Malcolm Macmoir*, King of *Scotland*, had taken the Advantage of his Absence, to make an Incursion into *Northumberland*, from whence he had carried off a great Booty. The Northern People were very much disgusted at the King's staying beyond Sea, at a time his Frontiers were plundering by Foreigners. Their Complaints having hasten'd his Return,

he

he was no sooner arriv'd, but he made great Preparations in order to be reveng'd of the King of *Scotland*. But fearing *Robert* his Brother, who had taken St. *Michael's Mount*, wou'd take the Advantage of his Absence and seize upon his Castles in *Normandy*, he desir'd him to come and join him. He pretended that his Valour and Experience was absolutely necessary to put an honourable End to the War. But to engage him by a more powerful Motive, he promis'd as soon as the Affair was over, he wou'd punctually perform his Part of their late Treaty. *Robert* being prevail'd upon by this Promise, and the good Opinion the King his Brother seem'd to have of him, came speedily over into *England* and accompanied him to *Scotland*.

William
and Ro-
bert march
into Scot-
land.

The Success of the War did not answer William's Preparations. The greatest Part of the Fleet, he had fitted out to annoy the Coasts of *Scotland*, was destroy'd by a Storm. His Army suffer'd no less in marching over the Morasses and Mountains. The want of Provisions in those almost desolate Places he was got into, and the Roads become impassable by reason of the bad Weather, made him visibly lose so many of his Men, that he often repented him of this Expedition. He wou'd have been very hard put to it by these Accidents, had not *Malcolm* been apprehensive that this War, which had drawn the Enemy into his Country might in the End be attended with ill Consequences. And therefore choosing rather to oblige William to leave *Scotland* by fair Means, than venture to drive him thence by Force, he sent him Proposals, which being gladly accepted of, were quickly follow'd by a Treaty of Peace. The Conditions were, that *Malcolm* shou'd pay William the same Homage his Father had done; That twelve Mannors, he had been in possession of in *England* before the Rupture shou'd be restor'd to him, and that William shou'd pay him yearly twelve Marks for all his other Claims. Prince *Edgar*, who had been employ'd in this Negotiation, having behav'd to the Satisfaction of both Parties, William and Robert receiv'd him into Favour, and gave him leave to return into *England*. The Duke of *Normandy* was in hopes, that the War being over, the

Their ill
Success.
Bromp-
ton.

A Peace
made.
Hoved.

Edgar
for deFau-
vour.
Bromp-
ton.
Hoved.

3091. King his Brother wou'd in good earnest think of satisfying him. But perceiving at length he endeavour'd only to amuse him, he return'd Home in great Anger, taking Prince *Edgar* along with him.

Glamor-gan-shire
conquer'd
by the Eng-
lish.
Welsh.
Chron.

Whilst *William* was in *Scotland*, *Robert Fitz-Hamon*, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, conquer'd *Glamorgan-shire* in *South-Wales*. He had serv'd *Jestyn*, Lord of *Glamorgan*, against *Rees* King of *Wales*, on certain Terms, which the *Welsh* Lord refus'd to stand to, after the War was ended. This Breach of Faith having put *Fitz-Hamon* upon resolving to right himself by Arms, he drew his Friends together, attack'd *Rees*, slew him in the Fight and feiz'd upon his Country. Twelve Knights, who had accompanied him in this Expedition, were rewarded, each of them, with a *Mannor*, which they and their Posterity enjoy'd *.

3092. The next year, Prince *Henry* took by surprize *Dom-front*, a small Town in *Maine*, where he retir'd in Expectation of some better Fortune.

William
rebuilds
Carlisle.

The frequent Irruptions of the *Scots* into the Northern Parts of *England*, having convinc'd the King of the necessity of stopping their Progres by a strong Barrier, he order'd the City of *Carlisle upon the Tine* to be rebuilt. This City, which had been destroy'd by the *Danes*, and for 200 years together, lain in Ruins, was peopled again, and endow'd with great Privileges which it enjoys to this Day *. The Episcopal See of *Dorchester* was remov'd to *Lincoln*, and that of *Wells* to *Bath* about this Time, with the King's Consent, the which was not obtain'd but by a round Sum of Money.

This

* There is a Book written on this Subject by Sir *Edward Stradling*, or Sir *Edward Mansel* (for 'tis ascrib'd to both) wherein you have the Names of the twelve Knights, among whom were, *Richard Granvil*, *Pain Turbevil*, *Oliver St. John*, *Robert de St. Quintin*, *William Stradling*, Names still in being. See *Camden. Glamorgan-shire.*

*¹ *Carlisle*, (the *Luguballum* or *Luguballia* or *Luguwallium* of the *Britains* and *Romans*, and the *Luel* of the *Saxons*) stands near the Confluence of the Rivers *Eden*, *Peterill*, and *Cauda*, and not on the *Tine*. The Colony sent hither by *William Rufus*, of *Husband-men*, are by all Records said to be the First that till'd the Lands thereabouts.

This Monarch was become so Absolute, that he met with no Opposition to his Will. Taxes and Impositions were renew'd every Day on divers Pretences. Nothing happen'd but what the King made a Handle to levy Money upon the Cities, Burroughs, Private Persons, without showing any more Favour to the *Normans* than to the *English*. None daring to make a Stand against these Oppressions, the People waited for no other Remedy to their Evils, but the Death of the King, which they heartily pray'd for in private. A Distemper, which seiz'd him at *Glocester*, put them in hopes their Prayers were going to be heard. He himself thought he had not long to live. The Approach of Death, which to him seem'd certain, and the Exhortations of the Bishops that were about him, set him upon reflecting on his past Life, which was follow'd by some Signs of Sorrow and Repentance. He appear'd firmly resolved to correct the Mismanagements in the Government, if it pleas'd God to restore him to his Health. The Bishops taking the Advantage of these good Motions, admonish'd him to fill the vacant Benefices. They represented to him what great Obstacles he laid in the way of his Salvation, by applying the *Church's* Revenues to Uses contrary to what they were design'd for. The Condition he was in, made him readily comply with whatever they desir'd of him. He nominated *Robert Bloet*, one of his Counsellors, to the Bishoprick of *Lincoln*, and pitch'd upon for Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Anselm* Abbot of *Bec* in *Normandy*, who was then at the *English* Court. 'Twas with great Difficulty that *Anselm* was prevail'd upon to accept of this Dignity. He was a zealous Assertor of the Rights of the *Church*, and as he knew *William* was not over-scrupulous in these Matters, he dreaded the taking upon him a Burden, which to him seem'd too weighty in such a Reign. However the Perswasions of the Bishops, and seeming Repentance of the King, brought him at length to a Compliance. Before he was consecrated, he requested the King, that he wou'd be pleas'd to restore to the *Church of Canterbury*. All that belong'd to it in *Lanfranc's* Time, the which was po-

1092.

1093.

He falls ill.
Dunelm.*Show;*
Signs of Re-
*pentance.**Eadmer,**Makes An-*
*selm**Archbish-*
op of Can-
*terbury.**Hunting,*
Knigh-
*ton.**Bromp-*
*ton.**Brady;*

1093. fitively promis'd him. In the mean time, *William* finding he was out of Danger, and perceiving he daily gather'd Strength, he put off Matters, in order to avoid the Restoring the Church-Lands. At length, as the Archbishop presid'd him continually upon this Score, he frankly declar'd his Intent was that they, to whom he had granted the said Lands should enjoy them, They and their Posterity. He even told the Archbishop, he expected his Concurrence. But *Anselm* would never be brought to this Compliance, which he look'd upon as a downright Prevarication. This gave Rise to the great Contest between the King and him, which occasion'd a great deal of Trouble to both of them.

The King continues his Oppression.

In the mean Time, *William*, whose Repentance proceeded entirely from the Fear of Death, finding himself perfectly recovered, forgot all his Promises, and fell to his old Course again. The Prisoners he had commanded to be freed, were, by his Order, more closely confin'd, and those that had been set at Liberty, were again thrown into Prison. Extortion, Injustice, and Rapine lifted up their Heads as high as ever. The Administration of Justice was in the Hands of such as took more Care to inrich themselves, than discharge the Duties of their respective Posts: All were Poor, but those, who had the fingering of the publick Money. There was a necessity of sacrificing Honour and Conscience, in order to be in Favour at Court. None but *Informers* met with any Incouragement. These disorderly Doings put many honest Men upon resolving to quit the Kingdom and seek elsewhere that Tranquility they could not find in their Native Country. But even the Liberty of doing This, which they imagined, they could not be abridg'd of, was taken from them by an Edict, whereby all Persons were forbid to go out of the Kingdom without the King's Leave.

Polyd. Vir.

King of Scotland comes to Gloucester.

Whilst *England* was in this wretched Condition, *Malcolm* King of *Scotland*, came to *Glocester*, according to an Agreement he had made with *William*, to settle some Matters, which had been left undetermin'd in the late Treaty. As soon as the King had Notice of his Arrival, he sent him

him word, that he expected, in the first Place, he shou'd do him Homage. *Malcolm* replied, he was ready to do it on the Frontiers of the two Kingdoms, according to Custom. *William* not satisfied with this Answer, let him know further that he wou'd have it done in *Glocester*, it not being the *Vassal's* Place to appoint where he was to do his Homage. *Malcolm*, looking upon This as a Pretence made use of by the King to affront him, return'd Home without seeing him, enrag'd at the haughty Treatment, he had met with. He was no sooner in *Scotland*, but he began his Revenge by invading *Northumberland*. This was the fifth time he had ravag'd that Country, revenging on the innocent Subjects the Wrongs he pretended to have receiv'd from the Sovereign. *Robert de Mowbray* was then Governor of the Northern Parts. He was a Person of great Courage and Conduct, and finding the King's Forces were at too great a Distance, he undertook to put a sudden Stop to the Calamities his Government lay under. He drew together a Body of Troops with such Expedition, that he fell on the *Scots* at a Time they thought themselves most secure. This unexpected Attack having thrown the *Scots* into Disorder and Confusion, they gave Ground without making scarce any Resistance at all. *Malcolm* and *Edward* his eldest Son, were at their Wits End to see their Army thus running away, and being desirous to endeavour to rally them again, were both slain upon the Spot. The *Scotch* Historians pretend the *English* ow'd their Victory to a notorious Piece of Treachery *. Perhaps this was because the *Scots* suffer'd themselves to be surprised unawares. However this be, this fatal Battle was the Occasion of numberless Evils to *Scotland* quickly after.

Mal-

1098,
Brompt.
Dunelm.
R. de Har-
gul.

Hl. Wig.

Returns
Home and
invades
*Northum-
berland*.
Dunelm.
Bromp-
ton.

*Is slain
with his
Son.*
Hoved.
Brompt.

* *Boethius* and *Buchanan* say that *Malcolm* having reduc'd the Castle of *Alnwick* to Extremity, the Besieg'd were forc'd to surrender, and only desir'd, that the King in Person wou'd receive the Keys of the Gates, which were brought by a Soldier upon the Top of a Lance, who standing within the Wall, thrust the Point of the Lance into the King's Eye as he was going to take them. Upon which *Edward* his Son falling too rashly upon the Enemy, receiv'd a Wound of which he soon after died.

1093. *Malcolm* had with him a General call'd *Walter*, to whom as a Reward for his Services, he had given the Office of *Steward* or great *Master of his Household*. From this Officer sprang the Family of the *Stuarts*, who for a long Time fway'd the Scepter of *Scotland*, and for above a *Century* that of *England**. *Margaret* King *Malcolm's* Queen, and Sister to *Edgar Atheling*, surviv'd the melancholy News of the Death of her Husband and Son but three Days. Tho' *Malcolm* had left three Sons besides of a fit Age to govern, the *Scots* plac'd the Crown on the Head of *Donald* his Brother. This Prince was no sooner on the Throne, but he drove all the *English* out of the Kingdom. Among whom was *Edgar Atheling*, who taking with him the Sons of *Malcolm* his Nephews, retir'd into *England*.

He invades England. The *Scots* deferr'd taking Revenge for their Defeat no longer than they were employ'd in the Coronation of their new King. Towards the End of the Summer, *Donald* at the head of his Army made an Irruption into *England*, where he aveng'd *Malcolm's* Death in a cruel Manner. As soon as *William* had notice of it, he sent an Army into the *North* under the Command of *Duncan*, natural Son to the late King of *Scotland*. At the Approach of these Forces, **Is defeated.** *Donald* hastily retir'd into his Kingdom: But was so closely pursu'd that he cou'd not avoid coming to a Battle. As his Army was much inferior in Numbers to that of the *English*, he was defeated and forc'd to betake himself to one of the *Hebrides**. This Blow having thrown the *Scots* into great Consternation, *Duncan* took the Advantage of the Juncture, and got himself crown'd in the Room of *Donald*.

**Duncan
crown'd.**

About

* *Camden* says, *Malcolm* made *Walter Steward* of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that he was Son to *Flean* by *Nefia* Daughter to *Griffith ap Llewelin* Prince of *North-Wales*. *Flean* was the Son of *Banquo* slain by *Macbeth*.

*ⁱ A Cluster of *Isles* call'd by the Inhabitants *Inch-Gall*, who retain the Manners, Customs, and Habit of the antient *Scots*, and speak the *Irish* Language. They are commonly thought to be forty four in Number, tho' they that have travell'd them, reckon them to be above 300. They are call'd by the *English*, *The Western Isles*.

About the same Time, new Troubles arising in *Wales*, the English Army march'd thither. This War prov'd fatal to the Welsh, who lost Part of their Country, after *Rees* their King had been slain in a Battle,

1093.
War with
Wales.

The Affairs of *Scotland* and *Wales* being ended to *William*'s Satisfaction, it was not long before he sought fresh Occasions to exert his Activity. *Robert* his Brother being disgusted that the Articles of their Treaty were not yet performed, was making Preparations, which *William* was apprehensive were designed for the retaking the Places he was in Possession of by Virtue of the same Treaty. Accordingly, without troubling himself about making him easy, he resolv'd to lead an Army into *Normandy* to secure his Fortresses, and make new Conquests. As he went to his Ships he pass'd thro' *Hastings*, where he visited *Battle-Abby*, and order'd the Church to be consecrated, which was dedicated to *St. Martin* as the King his Father had commanded. Upon his Arrival in *Normandy* he wanted to hold a Conference with his Brother, wherein he endeavour'd to amuse him with fresh Promises. This Interview proving of no Effect, they agreed upon a Second, in the Presence of the twenty four Barons, who had sworn to see the Treaty put in Execution. *William*'s sole Aim was to overawe the Barons that they might throw all the Blame on his Brother. But finding that instead of doing so, they openly declar'd themselves in *Robert*'s Favour, he broke off the Conference and began his Hostilities. He immediately became Master of some Places, the Governors whereof he had bri'b'd. But afterwards, *Robert* having receiv'd Succours from *France*, retook *Argentan*, and made the Garrison consisting of 800 Men Prisoners. After that, he besieged the Castle of *Holms*, which surrendered at Discretion. These Successes made *William* sensible, that he would find it a difficult Matter, not to come off a Loser by the War, in case the French Troops continued in his Brother's Service. Having learnt by Experience that *Philip* was to be moved by Presents, he resolved to try the same Way he had formerly so well succeeded in. But after the excessive Taxes he had laid on the Kingdom, it seem'd impracticable

Robert af-
fisted by the
French.

1094. Dunelm. cable to raise the Sum, he then wanted. However, as he had a fertile Invention on these Occasions, he bethought himself of a Method which succeeded to his Wish. Under Pretence that there was an urgent Occasion for Succours, he sent Orders into *England* to levy with all possible Expedition twenty thousand Men. In doing This, care was taken to press for Soldiers such as were well to pass, or to whom 'twas very inconvenient to leave their Families. When these Levies were just going to embark, the High-Treasurer acquainted them from the King, that they might every Man repair to his own Home upon paying ten Shillings a-piece. This News was so acceptable to these Soldiers listed against their Wills, that there was not one but what was overjoy'd to be releas'd at so easy a Rate. By this Means, *William* rais'd the Sum of ten thousand Pounds Sterling, with which he brib'd the *French* to retire; who were so great Obstacles in his Way.

1095. War with the Welsh. Chron. Cambr. The going off of the Auxillaries brought *Robert's* Affairs to a very bad Pass. In all Probability, it wou'd have occasioned the Loss of all his Dominions, if the King had not been oblig'd to return into *England* to quell the *Welsh* who were ravaging *Shropshire* and *Cheshire*. Never did a Diversion come so unseasonably, seeing it made him loose the Conquest of *Normandy*, when he thought himself sure of it. He left *Normandy* therefore with extreme Regret, after he had been reconciled to his Brother *Henry* who came over with him.

The King's two Expeditions into Wales. Upon his Arrival in *England*, he marched into *Wales*, where he rebuilt the Castle of *Montgomery* which had been demolish'd. At his Approach, the *Welsh* according to Custom retired among the Mountains, where 'twas impossible to come at them. As he was not well acquainted with that crabbed Country, he lost so many of his Men in obstinately pursuing the Enemy in their lurking Holes, that he was at last compell'd to retire without doing them much Damage.

In spite of the Difficulties he had met with in this Expedition, he resolv'd upon a second, the same Year, after he had reinforced his Army with new Levies. But

hardly had he entred *Wales* before he was called off from his Enterprise, by Affairs of greater Importance, which more nearly concern'd him. 1095.

Robert de Mowbray had done the King a signal Service Mow-
by his Victory over the *Scots*. Blown up with this suc-^{haw's Re-}
cessful Action, he imagin'd *William* could not give him a ^{volt.}
Reward suitable to the Importance of what he had done ^{Malm:}
for him, in ridding him of so troublesom a Neighbour. ^{Hoved.}
But the King, who had no Generosity in 'him; expressed ^{Dunelm:}
so little Gratitude on this Account, that the Earl's haugh-
ty Spirit set him upon finding out the means to make him
repent of his thus slighting him. Nothing less wou'd
content him than the endeavouring to depose *William* in
order to set the Crown on the head of *Stephen Earl of Al-*
bemarle, Nephew to *William the Conqueror*. He had found
the Means to draw into this Conspiracy a great Number of
Lords, who, as well as he, were disgusted at the harsh
and slighting Usage they met with from the King. *Wil-*
liam receiv'd the News of this Conspiracy as he was march-
ing into *Wales*: But this War seeming to him of little
Importance in Comparison of the Storm that was gather-
ing, he alter'd his Course, and march'd with all Speed to-
wards the *North*. His Design was to crush the Head of
the Malecontents, before the Rest cou'd join him. The *The King*
Conspirators, having foreseen he wou'd march that way, ^{had like to}
had laid an Ambush for him, which he wou'd infallibly have ^{fall into an}
fallen into; if *William de Tunbridge*, one of the Rebels, ^{Ambush.}
had not given him Notice of it. This Stratagem failing, *He besieged*
William continued his March and went and besieged the ^{Banbor-}
Castle of *Banborrough*, where *Mowbray* was. This Place, ^{rough.}
which was very strong and well-stor'd with Necessaries,
holding out longer than was expected, he resolv'd to
change the Siege into a Blockade, that he might be at Li-
berty to go in Quest of the other Conspirators, who
were already up in Arms. To this Purpose, he built near ^{and built.}
Banborrough, a Fortress which he called *Mal-voisin* [or ^{Mal-voisin}
Bad-Neighbour,] because it took away all possibility of ^{Hunting.}
throwing any Succours into the Castle. Some time ^{Hoved.}
after, *Mowbray* going out upon a false Informati-

1095. on *, had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of the Be-siegers. As soon as the King heard of it, he order'd the Prisoner to be led close up to the Walls of *Banborrough*, and in case the Besiged refus'd to surrender, to have his Eyes put out before their Faces. Having gain'd his Ends by this Order, the Castle was deliver'd up upon Terms, and *Mowbray* was confin'd to *Windsor-Castle*, where he remain'd a Prisoner 30 Years. His Companions in the Revolt met with no better Treatment. *Roger Lacy* was outlawed of all his Estates. *Hugh Earl of Chester*, redeem'd his Life for the Sum of 3000 Pounds Sterling. The Count of *Ea*, having chosen to vindicate his Innocence in single Combat against his Accuser, and being overcome, was condemn'd to have his Eyes put out, and to be castrated. *William of Ardres*, accus'd of the same Crime, was sentenc'd to be hang'd, tho' he protested his Innocence with his last Breath. All the rest were condemn'd to divers Punishments, not so much as one escaping.

*Quarrel
between
the King
and An-
selm.
Dunelm.
Hunt.
Moved.*

The King was no sooner out of this Trouble, but he fell into another, occasion'd by the renewing of the Quarrel between him and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. He had no great Regard to the Immunities of the *Church*, which *Anselm* stood up for in too haughty a manner. He had even presum'd to acknowledge *Urban II.* for lawful Pope, tho' he very well knew that *William* was rather inclin'd to *Clemente* his Antagonist. In vain was it represented to him, that by a Law made in the late Reign, no Person was to acknowledge a *Pope* without the King's Consent. This Argument had no Force with him, who pretended that the King had no Right to meddle with Ecclesiastical Affairs. But what Grounds had he himself to assume the Power of determining that Matter for the whole Church of *England*? The King, for his Part, was not of a Humour to give way to his Subject, and as he began to treat him somewhat roughly, *Anselm* desir'd leave

to

* *Vitali's* says, some Soldiers belonging to *Newcastle* upon *Tyne*, promis'd to give him Entrance into the Town, if he would come thither privately with a few Followers. Upon which he went out one Night with 30 Soldiers, but being betray'd by his own Men, was pursued and taken by the Garrison of *Mal-utis*.

to go to *Rome*. *William* at first denied him, but at length consented, being very glad to get rid of him. However, not to let him go off without some further Marks of his Displeasure, he sent an Officer to him, who overtaking him just as he was going to sail, ranfack'd his Baggage, and took away all the Money he cou'd find, pretending that it was against the Law to carry the Coin out of the Kingdom. After *Anselm's* Departure the King seiz'd upon the Temporalities of the Archbishoprick, and enjoy'd them as long as he liv'd. This Prelate continu'd some time at *Rome*, where he did all that lay in his Power to stir up the Pope against the King. But at length finding that *Urban* did not care to espouse his Quarrel, he retir'd to a Monastery at *Lyons*, where he remain'd till *William's* Death.

Urban II. was just then going to disclose the grand Design which for some Time had run in his Head. I mean the famous *Crusado*, which was undertaken to recover the *Holy Land* out of the Hands of the *Saracens*. This great Affair is so well known, that there is no occasion to enter into Particulars. 'Twill be sufficient to put the Reader in Mind, that 'twas *Peter the Hermite*, which first set this Project on Foot; that Pope *Urban* II., himself held forth upon it at the Couasel of *Clermont*, and that numberless Persons of all Nations and Ranks in *Europe*, were desirous of embarking in it. The Badge of those that engag'd in this Undertaking was a *Red Cross* wrought in their Habit and appearing on their Shoulders, from whence they were call'd the *Croises* [or the *Cross'd*], and the Expedition, the *Crusade*. Their Motto was, *It is God's Will*. The Heads of the *Croises* were, *Hugh of France*, *Godfrey of Bulloign*, *Raimund of Thoulouse*, Count of St. *Giles*, *Robert Earl of Flanders*, *Baldwin Earl of Haynault*, *Bohemond Prince of Tarentum*, *Tancred his Nephew*, and *Robert Duke of Normandy*. This last was extremely desirous of making a Figure in this War, which Robert made so much noise in the World: But Money was wanting to defray the Charge he was oblig'd to be at. The only means he had to supply this Defect was to borrow a

1096.

The Holy War.

Duncelm.

Fl. Wig.

Eadmer.

1096.
Hoved.

Sum of the King his Brother, and engage *Normandy* for the Payment. *William* gladly receiv'd the Proposal. But as his Kingdom was exhausted by the great Levies of Money he had already rais'd, he was forc'd to have recourse to new Methods. The way he judg'd the most ready, was to desire the Riches of his Subjects, particularly the Nobility and Clergy, to furnish him with the Money he stood in need of. His Request being equivalent to a Command, such as were unwilling to comply, were compell'd to it, without respect of Persons. This Compulsion gave the Lords a pretence to treat their Vassals in the same manner, and oblige them to contribute to the King's Wants. Several Ecclesiasticks not having the Sum demanded ready by them, were, or pretended to be, under a necessity of melting down the Church-Plate, and even the *Shrines* of the Saints.

Malm.

The different Tempers of the two Brothers.

Let us here reflect a moment on the different Tempers and Characters of these two Sons of *William the Conqueror*. The first makes a Conscience of oppressing his Subjects, to supply his *Quota* towards an Expedition approv'd of by all the World, choosing rather to mortgage his *Duchy*, than raze the Money upon them. The other makes no scruple to extort Money from his People, for what was not at all to turn to their Account, but purely to gratify his Ambition. Hence we may judge how great an Injury *the Conqueror* did the *English* in preferring the Younger before the Elder Brother.

William
wars with
France.

As soon as *Robert* was gone, *William* having taken possession of *Normandy*, demanded of the King of *France* the *French-Vexin*, which he pretended belong'd to the *Duchy*. This Demand occasion'd a War, which having nothing remarkable in it, ended the next Year in a Treaty of Peace.

1097.
*His War
with the
Welsh.
Brompton
Hoved.
Hunting.
Ana.Sax.*

The great Ease wherewith *William* had acquired *Normandy*, serv'd only to inflame his avaritious Temper the more, and set him upon the Conquest of *Wales*. With this View, he made on some other Pretence, extraordinary Preparations, imagining he cou'd not fail of Success, as he was in hopes of taking the *Welsh* unprovided. He had resolv'd to extirpate all the Males of that Nation,

whose

whose Neighbourhood had all along been very trouble, some to the *English*. But the Honour of this Conquest was not reserv'd for him. Tho' by the Assistance of some Deserters, he had penetrated a good way into that difficult Country, he lost more of his own than he destroyed of the Enemies Men. So that he was forc'd once more to drop this Undertaking, without having done any Thing considerable.

Shortly after, a new Revolution in *Scotland*, made him resolve upon sending an Army thither under the Command of *Edgar Atheling*. *Donald*, whom we have seen driven out of *Scotland*, having found the means to get Footing there again, had in his turn compell'd *Duncan* to leave the Kingdom, and settled himself on the Throne. The greatest Part of the *English* Historians pretend, that *William* as Sovereign Lord of *Scotland*, made himself Umpire in this Matter. They add, that doing *Edgar*, Eldest Son to *Malcolm Macmoir* the Justice due to him, he order'd his Troops to march into *Scotland*, and put that Prince in possession of the Crown. However this be, without staying to examine this Matter, I shall only say, that *Edgar Atheling* by help of the *English* Army, placed young *Edgar* his Nephew on the Throne of his Ancestors. *William* cou'd not undertake this Expedition in Person, on account of the Revolt of the Province of *Maine*, which had oblig'd him to go thither and lay siege to the Capital.

During the King's Absence, *Wales* was again expos'd to the Insults of the *English*, or rather *Normans*, who began to be confounded with the *English*. *Owen*, a *Welsh* Lord, Father-in-law to *Griffith* and *Cadagon* Kings of *Wales*, having been disoblig'd by his Sons-in-law, privately invited the Earls of *Chester* and *Shrewsbury* into his Country, promising them a great Booty. The two Earls having levied some Troops, were receiv'd by *Owen* into *Wales*, where they committed unspeakable Cruelties. The two Kings thus taken unawares, were forc'd to fly into *Ireland*, and leave the Country to the Mercy of the *English*. Their Flight having given their Enemies an Opportunity of marching on, they penetrated as far as the *Isle of Anglesey*.

1098.
The Affairs
of Scot-
land.

English
invade
Wales
Chron.
Gal.
An. Sax-
Hoved.

1098.
The King of Norway attacks Anglesey.
Pol. Virg. Hoved. Brompton DuChesne
 sey, where they destroy'd all with Fire and Sword. Whilst they were exercising their Cruelty, *Magnus King of Norway*, who had just made himself Master of the *Isle of Man*, happen'd to come thither, and having a Mind to land, the *English* endeavour'd to prevent him; and the Earl of *Shrewsbury* was slain in the *Skirmish*. His Death was look'd upon as a just Judgment for the horrid Barbarities he had committed in the *Isle*. This Accident having thrown the *English* into disorder, they were constrain'd to retire from the Shore. *Magnus*, after he had landed and found they had left him nothing to plunder, went on Board again, and the *English* carried off their Booty.

William rebuilds London-Bridge. Westminster-Hall, and a Wall round the Tower.
 These little Advantages were not capable of balancing the Evils the *English* underwent this same Year. Besides a great Scarcity, occasion'd by bad Weather, which lasted several Months, the King laid heavy Taxes upon them, which were so much the more grievous, as the Money was to be expended in Works that were unnecessary or at least might have been put off to some other Time. He not only rebuilt *London-Bridge*, which had been carried away by an unusual Flood, but pitch'd upon this Season for other Works, which requir'd vast Sums of Money. He rais'd a new Wall round the *Tower*, and built a great Hall at *Westminster* 270 foot long and 70 broad. How spacious soever this Hall might be, *William* at his return from *Normandy* found fault with its being so small, saying 'twas scarce fit to be call'd a Bed-Chamber, in comparison of what he had design'd it to be. 'Tis affirm'd, he undertook this Building purely for a Handle to raise Money, and that, upon the same Account he was resolv'd to pull it down in order to build it larger, but was prevented by other Affairs.

1099.
William relieves Mans. Malm. Dunelm.
 About Midsummer, *William*, as he was hunting in *New Forest*, was told by a *Messenger* that *Hely Count de la Flesche*, had surpris'd and taken the City of *Mans*, and was then besieging the Castle, which wou'd soon be forc'd to surrender, if it were not timely reliev'd. This News obliging him to break off his Sport, he sent the *Messenger* back with all speed, ordering him to tell the Besieg'd

Besieg'd he wou'd be with them in eight Days. At the same time, he turn'd his Horse's Head towards the Seaside, crying out, *He that loves me, follow me,* and arriv'd at Dartmouth that very Day, where he was desirous to embark immediately. But the Wind was so contrary, that the Master of the Ship represented to him, that he cou'd not put to Sea without manifest Hazard. *Tusib,* replied the King, *set forward, thou never yet heard'st of a King that was drown'd:* And compelling him to sail, he safely arriv'd at Barfleur. On the Morrow he sent for the Troops he had in Normandy, to attend him on the Road to Mans, and in a few Days march'd to the Relief of the Besieg'd. By this prodigious Expedition, he surpris'd the Besiegers in such a manner that he not only reliev'd the Castle, but took the Count of Flesche Prisoner. Exulting at his Success, he cou'd not forbear jesting on the Misfortune of his Enemy. But the Count, far from being cast down at what had happen'd, fiercely replied, that *He had no reason to glory in an Advantage which he had gain'd by Surprise,* and that, *were he at Liberty again, he wou'd let him see, that he shou'd not find it so easy a matter to vanquish him another Time.* The victorious King, hearing these bold Words, in point of Honour, sets his Prisoner free upon the Spot, telling him, *He desir'd no Return, but exhorted him to do his worst.* After this, returning to England with the same Expedition, he went and pursued his Diversion, which this Affair had interrupted.

The same Year, the Croises took Jerusalem by Storm, *Jerusalem taken.* and put Forty Thousand Saracens to the Sword. When they came to elect a King, to govern the Country conquer'd from the Infidels, the Majority of the Leaders of the Christian Army gave their Votes for Robert Duke of Normandy. But this Prince, for Reasons unknown, refus'd their Offer *. Upon which, the famous Godfrey of Bedloign

1099.
Hunting.
Ann. Sax.
Daniel,
Gc.

* At least, this pass'd current in England, as we shall see in the Year 1106. 'Tis said he did it out of Expectation of the Crown of England, and our Historians observe, that he never after profow'd in any Thing he undertook.

1099. *Bulldog* was chosen, who by his Valour and Conduct, had very much contributed to the Success of that Expedition.

1100. Fortune seem'd to take a Pleasure in heaping Favours on *William*. After he had got possession of *Normandy* by a lucky hit, which he had no room to expect, an Opportunity was put into his Hands of becoming also Master of the Dutchy of *Guienne* and Earldom of *Poitiers*. *William Earl of Poitiers*, animated by the Example of so many Princes that had engag'd in the *Holy War*, resolv'd to make One, and lead a powerful Reinforcement to the *Croises*. As he cou'd not put his Design in Execution without great Expence, he applied to the King of *England* for the Sum he wanted, offering to mortgage his Dominions for his Security. *William* having, without hesitation accepted of so advantagious a Proposal, got ready the Money with all speed. He design'd to carry it himself to the Earl, that he might, at the same time, be put in possession of his Dominions consisting of *Guienne* and *Poitiers*, two of the riches Provinces in *France*: Whilst he was preparing for his Voyage, he had a Mind to take the diversion of Hunting in the *New-Forest*, where an unforeseen Death put an End to all his Projects.

William kill'd by accident as he was Hunting. 'Tis said, as the King was just going to mount his Horse, he was told that a certain Monk had dreamt a Dream which portended some great Misfortune to him. As he gave but little heed to such Presages, he answer'd jestingly, that he plainly saw the Monk wanted Money, so order'd him a hundred Shillings, but however sent him word to dream better Dreams for the future *. Whether this is to be look'd upon as an Omen, or as the pure effect of Chance, it was that very Day fulfill'd. Towards the Evening *William* having wounded a Stag, was pursuing the Game full speed; when *Walter Tyrrel* a French

* The Monk dreamt that he saw the King knew a Crucifix with his Teeth, and that as he was about to bite off its Legs, the Image spurn'd him to the Ground, and as he lay groveling on the Earth, there came out of his Mouth a Flame of Fire with abundance of Smoak, *Mambsury*.

French Knight shooting at the same Stag, pierc'd the King through the Heart, upon which he fell down dead without speaking a Word *. The Murderer, tho' he knew his own Innocency, fled for it however, without any Body's endeavouring to seize him. Every one was busy about the King, whose Body was laid in a Cart, which accidentally came by, and carried to *Winchester*, where 'twas interr'd next Day. *Henry* his Brother, dreading the Measures he had taken to secure the Crown might be retarded, dispatch'd the Funeral as soon as possible, which was celebrated without much Ceremony, no one lamenting the loss of a Prince so little beloved.

Thus fell *William Rufus* on the second of *August* in the Year 1100, in the Forty-fourth Year of his Age, after a Reign of 12 Years, 10 Months and 20 Days. His ^{Character of William Rufus.} Tragical Death, in the very Place where one of his Brothers, and a Nephew of his perish'd by no less extraordinary Accidents, gave occasion for many Reflections. 'Twas publickly talk'd that God was pleas'd to take Vengeance of the Conqueror's Family for his destroying and laying waste the Country in so prodigious a manner in order to make the *New-Forest*. But there was no need to have recourse to his Father's Faults ; the Son had enough of his own, to take off their wonder at his perishing by an uncommon Death. Accordingly Historians

* The Circumstances of this Matter are thus related by Sir *John Hayward*. As the King was Hunning at *Choringham* in the *New-Forest*, he struck a Deer lightly with an Arrow ; and stay'd his Horse to look after the Deer, holding his Hands before his Eyes to keep off the Sun-beams which dazzled his Sight; another Deer crossing the Way, Sir *Walter Tyrrel* shooting at it too carelessly, or too steddily, at the King, hit him full in the Breast. Mr. *Tyrrel* observes, tho' *Florence of Worcester*, *Mambsury*, and *Simeon of Durham*, (who wrote within 40 Years after this Accident) do all agree in the *Place*, and *Person* who had the Misfortune thus to kill this Prince, yet there are Authors of that very Age, who not only doubt, but positively deny that this *Walter* had any Hand in it. *Eadmer* says, whether the Arrow was shot at him, or, as most affirm, flew him by his falling down upon it—His Tomb (somewhat rais'd from the Ground) remains at this Day in the midst of the *Choir* of *Winchester Cathedral*.

1100. have made no scruple to rank *William Rufus* among those Princes, who add but little Lustre to the Throne of England.

This Prince had all the Vices of his Father without his Virtues. *William I.* made some amends for his Faults by a Religious outside, his great Chastity, and commendable Temperance. But by the Character given of his Son by Historians, it appears that he was neither Religious, nor Chaste, nor Temperate. He was profuse to his Favourites, and Soldiers, and Magnificent in his Buildings and Habit. 'Tis said that his Valet bringing him one Day a new pair of Breeches which cost but three Shillings, he fell into a Passion, and order'd him never to bring him a Pair but what cost at least a Mark. 'Tis added, he was contented with a Pair not worth so much, being valued to him at a Mark. If we may believe them who have given us an Account of his Life, he had neither Honour nor Conscience, nor Faith nor Religion, and that he took a Pride in appearing as such. 'Tis related that one day [fifty English] Gentlemen accus'd for hunting and killing the King's Deer, having pass'd thro' the Tryal by Fire-ordeal untouch'd, he swore that *He cou'd not believe God was a just Judge, since he protec'ted such sort of People.* *Eadmer*, who liv'd in his Time, says, the King took Money of the Jews at Roan, to compel such as had been baptis'd to return to Judaism *. *Malmesbury* adds, that *William* order'd some Bishops and Rabbins to meet together and dispute in his Presence about Religion, and that he had promis'd the Rabbins he wou'd be

* This Story is thus related : A young Jew being converted, as is said, by a Vision of a Saint, his Father presented the King with 60 Marks, intreating him to make his Son return to his old Religion. The King sends for the young Man, and commands him without more ado to turn Jew again, which he refusing to do, and wondring the King, who was a Christian shou'd propose such a Thing to him, he was bid to be gone. The Father perceiving the King cou'd do no good upon his Son, desir'd to have his Money again. Nay, said the King, *I have taken Pains enough for it all : However, that thou mayst see how kindly I will use thee, thou shalt have one half, and the other half thou canst not in Conscience deny me for my Pains.* *Eadmer*, p. 47.

be circumcis'd, if their Arguments seem'd to him stronger than those of the Christians. 'Tis true indeed the Historian says, that 'tis to be suppos'd he did this with a view to ridicule them. He is charg'd with denying *Divine Providence*, and openly maintaining that Prayers addres'd to *Saints* were vain and impertinent.

But in order to judge impartially of the Testimony of these Historians, who were either *Monks* or *Ecclesiasticks*, it must be consider'd, that 'tis very possible they may have represent'd him 'in blacker Colours than he deserv'd. The Reason is, because he was the first King of *England* that seiz'd upon the *Church's* Revenues, without troubling himself about the Clameurs of the Clergy. This is what they cou'd never forgive him for. Their strong Prejudices against him might perhaps make them think that a Prince guilty of so henious a Crime, cou'd have neither Faith nor Religion. This Conjecture may be confirm'd by observing that the Writers, who charge him with Prophaneness, produce no Instances of it, but ground their Assertions upon some publick Rumours. As for Incontinency, which he is accus'd of also, they alledge no Particulars, not giving us so much as the name of any of his *Mistresses*, tho' the *Amours of Kings* are not conceal'd without great Difficulty. 'Tis true, they father a Bastard Son upon him, call'd *Bertrand*. But this alone wou'd not have put them so out of Humour with him, had not the other Actions, which more nearly touch'd them, exasperated them. Be this as it will, I lay down this only by way of Conjecture, of which every one is at Liberty to judge as he pleases. In the mean time as I don't find, in the Life of this Prince, but very few Actions worthy of Commendation, to be set in the Balance against these Accusations, I don't see how 'tis possible to vindicate him, of whom all the Historians unanimously agree to say so much Ill.

His ordinary Revenues were probably the same with his Father's. But as he ran into a great many more needless Expences, he increas'd them oftentimes by extraordinary Impositions and Taxes, which were very frequent in his

*Remarks
on the His-
torians
who have
given us
the Cha-
racter of
Rufus.*

*Baker.
Thorn.*

Hunting.
Higden.

1100. Reign. To these he added the Profits of the *vacant* Benefices, which brought him very large Sums. At the time of his Death, he had in his Hands the Archbischoprick of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winchester* and *Salisbury*, and twelve rich Abbies, besides abundance of other Church-Preferments of less Note. When he had enjoy'd the Incomes of these Benefices for some Years and had a Mind to dispose of them, he never regarded the Merits of the Persons, but only the Sum they bid for them. However 'tis related, that one day two Monks striving to out-bid one another for a rich Abbey, he per-
cey'd a Third standing by, of whom he demanded, how much he wou'd give ? The Monk replied, he had no Money, and if he had his Conscience wou'd not suffer him to lay it out in that manner ; whereupon the King told him, swearing by *St Luke's Face*, his usual Oath, that he deserv'd it better than the other Two, and that he shou'd have it for Nothing.

Ranulph
Prime Mi-
nister.

Ranulph Flambart, a Man of a mean Birth, was his High-Treasurer, and the Person that invented the greatest Part of the Ways and Means the King put in Practice to extort Money from his Subjects. He was rewarded for his Services with the Bishoprick of *Durham*, which *Wil- liam* conferr'd upon him a little before his Death.

Baker.

Among his Charitable Works are reckon'd, the Hospital he founded at *York*, and a Church he built at *London in Southwark* for the use of the *Mendicant Friars*.

Malm.
Baker.

This Prince was of a middle Stature, but look'd shorter than he was, by reason he was very fat. His Hair a deep Yellow, inclining to Red, his Eyes of two different Colours, speckled with small black Spots. He was generally of a very ruddy Complexion. Tho' he was far from being eloquent, he talk'd a good deal, especially when he was angry. His Countenance was severe, and his Voice strong, which he would exalt sometimes on purpose to frighten those he was speaking to. He is said however to converse affably enough with his Courtiers, who easily found the way to soften his fierce Temper.

Historians relate several extraordinary Accidents which happen'd in this Reign, as Earthquakes, Comets, and a Spring which ran Blood three Days together. But what did the most Damage was, first a great Fire in 1092, which burnt down a good Part of *London*. In the next Place, the Sea rising to an extreordinary Height overflow'd the Coast of *Kent*, and swept away Abundance of People and Cattle. This Innundation cover'd the Lands that belong'd formerly to Earl *Goodwin* in the Reign of *Edward the Confessor*. This Place, which at this Day is call'd *Goodwin's Sands*, is famous for Shipwrecks innumerable.

1100.
Extraor-
dinary Oc-
currences
in his
Reign.

Malmsbury observes of the Reign of *William Rufus*, that notwithstanding Men's Minds were turn'd to War, yet Excess and Sensuality prevail'd in a very scandalous Manner among the Nobility, and even among the Clergy. Vanity, Lust, and Intemperance reign'd every where, says *narrers in this Age*. that Historian. The Men appear'd so effeminate in their Dress and Conversation, that they show'd themselves Men in nothing but their daily Attempts upon the Chastity of the Women.

Remarks of
an Histori-
an on the
Corrupti-
on of Man-
ners in this
Age.





 S E C T. III.

 3. HENRY I. *Sirnam'd Beau-Clerk.*

HENRY
I.
1100.



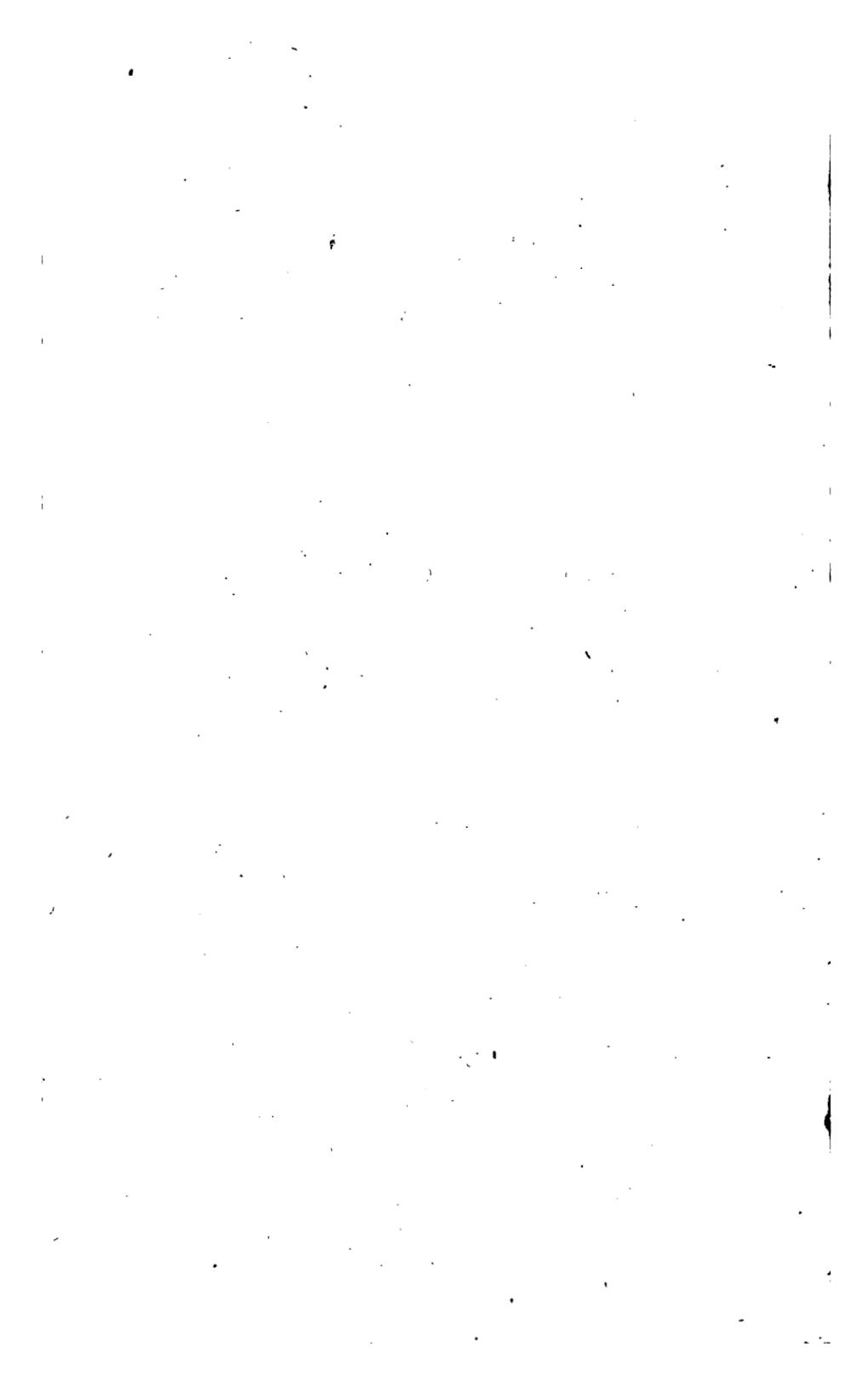
The Disposition of the English and Normans, with regard to the Succession.

HE *English* look'd upon the Death of *William Rufus* as a great Deliverance, tho' the present Advantage they reap'd by it, was to be of no long continuance. The *Norman* Yoke ended not with the Death of this Prince, seeing there still remain'd two Sons of *William the Conqueror*, to one of whom they were quickly to be in Subjection. 'Tis true, this wou'd have been a favourable Juncture, if they had design'd to throw off their Yoke, or if the two former Kings had left it in their Power to attempt it. But such was their abject State, depriv'd of their Estates, and shut out from all Employments, hardly cou'd any such Thought come into their Heads. The only Course they had to take was to acquiesce in what the *Normans* did, who were Masters of the Kingdom. In all likelihood, these last were in great Perplexity on account of the two Brothers, who might both put in their Claims to the Crown. *Robert Duke of Normandy*, had, by his Birth, a Right which seem'd incontestable,

faceing p. 342. Vol 2.



G. Vertue Sc.



incontestable, and which 'twas further strengthen'd by the late Treaty with *William Rufus*, wherein was agreed, that after the Death of One, the other shou'd be Heir to all their Father's Inheritance. Besides, his mild and generous Temper, which had gain'd him a strong Party in *England*, seem'd to give him a great Advantage over his Brother *Henry*, whose Disposition was little known. But on the other hand, his Slothfulness and Negligence, of which he had given but too many Instances, greatly prejudic'd People against him. His very Friends were backward to declare in his Favour, out of an Apprehension he was not in a Condition to support his Right. They knew he was set out from the *Holy Land*, but were ignorant of the Place where he had halted. They were even very uneasy upon this Score. Moreover, after the great Charge he had been at in his Voyage, they had reason to presume, that at his Return he wou'd find himself destitute of all necessary means to dispute the Crown with his Brother. On the contrary, *Henry* had the Advantage of being born in *England* after his Father was on the Throne, which went a great way with some People. Then his Pretensions were back'd with his Presence, and positive Promise both to the *Normans* and *English* to abrogate all rigorous Laws made since the *Conquest*, to restore the Government upon the same Foot it was in the Time of the *Saxon* Kings, to abolish all unjust and arbitrary Taxes, to reinstate the Clergy in their Privileges, to fill up all the Vacancies in the Church, and to recall the Ecclesiasticks that were in Exile. But all these Promises wou'd not perhaps have had the Effect he expected, if the Diligence and Vigour he exerted at this Juncture, had not added Weight to his Reasons. Immediately after the Death of *William*, he posted to *Winchester*, where the Crown and Sceptre were kept with the Royal Treasure, and wou'd have got possession of them. But he was stoutly oppos'd by *Roger de Breteuil*, one of *Robert*'s Partisans. This Lord alledg'd, that he was bound by Oath to acknowledge the Duke of *Normandy* for King, in case *William* died without Heirs. That besides, the Law of Nature

1106. Nature gave *Robert* a Right, which cou'd not be justly disputed. During this Contest, several other Lords being come to *Winchester*, there was quickly a great Concourse of People, who came from all Parts to know what was doing. If the choice of a King had solely depended upon the Lords that were then assembled at *Winchester*, the Duke of *Normandy* wou'd no doubt have been the Man. But *Henry* gave them not time to take necessary Measures to accomplish their Design. As he observ'd that the People were on his Side, he laid hold of that Advantage, and drawing his Sword out of the Scabbard, he swore, no Man shou'd take possession of the Crown. The Dispute still growing higher, the Lords that were present thought fit to retire into a private Room, to consult more calmly together what was to be done on this Occasion. Whilst they were debating, the People made the Name of *Henry* rebound in their Ears by their loud Acclamations, and gave them reason to dread, 'twou'd be extremely dangerous for them to declare for *Robert*. So preferring their own Safety to Justice and Equity, they resolv'd, in order to prevent a Civil War, which seem'd unavoidable, if they persisted in asserting the Rights of the Duke of *Normandy*, that *Henry* shou'd be plac'd on the Throne. This was enough to satisfy the Prince that his Authority was sufficiently establish'd. Without staying for the Confirmation of the Estates, he set out immediately for *London*. On the Morrow after his Arrival, *Maurice*, Bishop of that City, in Pursuance of this hasty and irregular Election, put the Crown on his Head, after having administred to him the usual Oath.

*Remark
on this Elec-
tion.*

The short Space between the Death of *William* and *Henry's* Coronation, is made use of as an Argument by those that maintain the Right of electing the Kings was confin'd at that time to a few of the Principal Lords. At least, they infer from hence, that the *Commons* had no Hand in the Elections. *Henry* had it not in his Power to seize the Crown by downright Force. Neither can it be said, that it was devolv'd to him as next Heir, seeing his Elder Brother was alive. He cou'd have it therefore

therefore no way but by Election. This being granted, to say he was chosen by the Nation represented, as at this Day, by a Parliament, it must be made appear that this Parliament was then Sitting. But that is impossible: Much less still can it be said, that in three Days Time, the *Estates* cou'd be summon'd and actually assembled. This is a plausible Argument: But the Truth is, nothing can be concluded from it, because there had been as yet no Regulations made since *the Conquest* about the Succession of the Crown *:

As *Henry's* pretended Election interrupted the natural Order of the Succession, 'twas to be fear'd, it would have such Effects on the Minds of the People as might prove of dangerous Consequence: 'Twas therefore highly necessary he shou'd enter upon his Reign in such a manner as might give his Subjects room to hope well of his Government. The Performance of his Promises being as it were, the *Criterion* which was to demonstrate the Sincerity of his Intentions, he began with That, in order to gain the People's Affections. He set about in the first Place, the reformating his Court, where the King his Brother had suffer'd many Abuses to creep in. The Courtiers for the most Part, sure of going unpunish'd, were wont to tyrannize over the People in a shameful manner. Not content with loading them with all kinds of cruel and unjust Oppressions, and with secretly attempting the Chastity of the Women, they publickly boasted of these Things; so far were they from any Fear of Punishment. To cure these Disorders *Henry* publish'd a very severe Edict against all Offenders in general, but particularly against *Adulterers*. As for those that abus'd their Power in oppressing the People, he order'd them to be put to Death without Mercy. Some who were already notorious upon that Account, were driven

*Henry's
forms &
abus'd.*

* This Dispute whether the *Commons* had any share in the Electing of the Kings, seems to proceed from not considering that the *Barons* had all the Lands in their Hands in those Days, and that there were no such thing then as what we call *Commons* now; nor till some time after. See Note p. 174.

1100. from Court, and *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, the detest-ed *Minister* of the late King, was thrown into Prison.

*Grants his
Subjects a
Charter.*

If these Proceedings caus'd the *English* to have a good Opinion of the new King and his Government, what he did soon after was no less acceptable to them. To convince them that he really intended to perform what he had promis'd, he abolished the *Couvre-feu*, which they look'd upon as a constant Badge of their Servitude. This Favour was follow'd by another of much greater Importance ; I mean a *Charter*, wherein he confirm'd divers Privileges they had enjoy'd under the *Saxon* Kings, and renounc'd all those unjust Prerogatives the two late Kings had usurp'd. By this *Charter*, *Henry* restor'd the *Church* to her antient Liberties, and set her free from all those Oppressions she had for some time been subject to, particularly during the vacant *Sees* and *Abbies*. He consent-ed, that the Heirs of *Earls* and *Barons* upon a *Death*, shou'd enter upon their Inheritance [paying only a lawful Relief] without being oblig'd to pay the King any Thing, by way of *Redemption* : And at the same time requir'd the *Lords* to deal in the same manner with their *Vassals*. He agreed that the *Nobles* might marry their Daughters without asking the King's Consent, provided it was not to the Enemies of the State. He appointed the Mothers, or nearest Relations, *Guardians* to *Minors*. He made a Standard for *Weights* and *Measures* throughout the Kingdom, and ordain'd that *Coiners* shou'd be punish'd with loss of Limbs. In fine, having granted a general Pardon for all Crimes committed before his Coronation, and remitted all *Arrears* and Debts due to the Crown, he add-ed a very material Article, which was no less Satisfac-tory to the *Normans* than *English*, which was, the Confirmation of the Laws of King *Edward*, that is, of the Laws which were in Force during the Reigns of the *Sax-on* Kings, and which were entirely laid aside or expresly abolish'd after the *Conquest*. The Native *English* cou'd not but be extremely well pleas'd to see their antient Laws restor'd. And the *Normans* were no less Gainers by it. Hitherto they held their Estates at the Will of the

the Conqueror, consequently were liable to be oued at his Pleasure. But by this *Charter*, which confin'd the Royal Authority within its antient Bounds, they were settled in their Possessions, and screen'd from the Violence of Arbitrary Power. This *Charter* having been approv'd and sign'd by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, several Copies were transcrib'd and laid up in the principal Monasteries to be consulted upon Occasion *.

This good Beginning gave the People room to hope great Things from this Reign, seeing there were several Alterations already much for the better. But still there was one thing wanting to compleat their Satisfaction, the recalling *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had gain'd their Esteem and Affections, by his vigorous Opposition to the late King's Oppressions. *Henry*, willing to satisfy them in this Point, wrote a Letter to the Archbishop, who was still at *Lyons*, to invite him to return to his *Dioceſe*. At the same Time he let him understand, he design'd to be guided by his Directions, and to entrust him with the Administration of Affairs. *Anselm*, to whom this News had given Wings, return'd forthwith into *England*, to the great Joy of the People.

The Arrival of this Prelate was no leſs agreeable to the King. He had need of him in an Affair which cou'd not be manag'd without his Assistance. As his Design was to gain the Affections of the *English*, he believ'd nothing wou'd contribute more towards it, than his marrying *Matilda* Daughter to *Malcolm* King of *Scotland* by *Margaret* Sister to *Edgar Atheling*. Indeed this Alliance cou'd not but be very grateful to the People, seeing it wou'd be the means of restoring the Royal Family of the *Saxons* to the Crown.

1101
Anselm
recall'd.

The King
marris
Matilda of
Scotland

* There were as many Copies as Counties which were sent to certain Abbeys in each County : And yet there was scarce one to be found in the Reign of King *John*, whose *Magna Charta* was founded upon it. There is a Copy at this Day in the *Red Book of the Exchequer*. And *Matthew Paris* (page 55) has given us a Transcript of that which was sent into *Herefordshire*, which you may find translated by *Tyrrel*, p. 114. B.III. Vol. II.

1101.
*Obstacles
to the Mar-
riage;*
*M. Paris.
P. Virg.*
*Duke Ro-
bert
claims the
Crown.
Vital.
Eadm.*

Henry had already demanded the Princess of King *Ed-*
gar her Brother : But he met with a great Obstacle in his
*Way. Matilda had been educated in *England* in the*
*Monastery at *Wilton*, where she had put on the *Veil*.*
'Tis true, 'twas alledged in her behalf that she had not
*vow'd Virginity, nor taken up the *Veil*, but as a Safeguard*
to her Honour, which was suppos'd to be in Danger at the
*beginning of the *Conquest*. But this Reason did not*
seem sufficient to the two Kings to justify their Proceed-
ing any farther in this Matter, tho' they were both e-
*qually desirous of the Match. Every one knew *Matilda**
*had put on the *Veil*, and 'twas generally believ'd, she had*
vow'd Chastity. Some even affirm, that she excepted
against her Marriage, as unlawful, and add, that when
pres'd upon the Score of Reasons of State she yielded to
the Instances of her Brother and Lover, she curs'd the
Line that was to spring from her, as abominable in the
sight of God. The Decision of this matter, which ap-
*pear'd so difficult, being left to the Archbishop of *Can-**
**terbury*, he wou'd not undertake it alone; but call'd in*
the Assistance of a Council which met at his Palace at
**Lambeth*. This Assembly being entirely inclin'd to the*
*King's Side, the Reasons for *Matilda*'s being at free Li-*
berty to marry, were so well manag'd, that the Council
declar'd the intended Marriage to be good and lawful.
Pursuant to this Declaration, it was quickly after solem-
niz'd to the general Satisfaction of both Kingdoms.

Whilst these Things were transacting, Duke *Robert* was return'd to *Normandy*, and had taken Possession of his Dominions without any Opposition. Tho' *Norman-*
dy was mortgag'd to the late King, *Henry* did not think fit to dispute the Matter with his Brother, at a Time, when he himself was apprehensive of being attack'd upon the Account of *England*. Duke *Robert* in his way home from the *Holy Land* had made some stay in *Apolia*, where he married a Wife, which delay had given his Brother an Opportunity of securing the Crown. He was no sooner arriv'd, but he openly show'd his Discontent at having been thus supplanted, and firmly resolv'd to at-
tempt

tempt the Recovery of what he had been depriv'd of during his Absence. The Bishop of *Durham*, who, having found the means to escape out of Prison, was retir'd to *Normandy*, did not a little contribute to confirm him in his Resolution. Moreover, several *Norman* Lords, who had consented to *Henry's* Election out of a kind of Compulsion, began to contrive how to place *Robert* on the Throne. They had already been tampering with some of the Chief of the *English* Lords, in order to get them into their Plot. As they knew him to be a mild and good-natur'd Prince, they promis'd themselves much greater Happiness under him than under *Henry*, who appear'd to be a Person of more Vigour and Resolution. In the mean Time, the Rumour of *Robert's* preparing to assert his Rights, wrought variously on People's Minds. Some were for continuing firm to the King, and keeping the Oath they had taken to him. Others, on the contrary, tho' satisfied with the King's first Proceedings, yet resum'd their former Inclinations for the Duke his Brother, infomuch that *Henry* was in great Perplexity. If he was somewhat loath to trust to the Fidelity of the *English*, they were no less doubtful of the Sincerity of his Intentions. What they had experienced from the two late Kings, gave them but too much reason to dread, that the Part he had hitherto acted was only to amuse them and prevent their siding with his Brother. In this uncertainty, *Anselm's* Assistance was of great use to *Henry* in fixing the *English*, who seem'd to float between the two Parties. The Archbishop, who was indebted to the King, was very glad to show his Gratitude on this Occasion. He assembled the chief of the *English* and *Norman* Grandees, and so positively assured them that the King wou'd make good all his Promises, that they seem'd very well satisfied. And yet it no sooner was known, that the Duke of *Normandy* was going to embark for *England*, but the greatest Part of the Nobles declared for him, and Part of the Fleet follow'd their Example. This gave the Duke an Opportunity to land at *Portsmouth*, where he was receiv'd without any Opposition. He was not ignorant

1101. ingorant how the *English* stood affected. Such as came over to him every Day, assur'd him how well-wishers their Countrymen were to his Causē. They put him in hopes that the King wou'd quickly find himself deserted by the whole Nation, who look'd upon their Oath of Allegiance, as an involuntary Act. In the mean Time, *Henry* took all the measures he thought requisite to frustrate the Designs of the Duke his Brother, by making use of *Anselm's* Credit, on whom the People seem'd to rely very much. As soon as the Army was ready to march, the Archbishop came and call'd the Principal Officers together, to whom he represented in so lively a manner, the heinousness of breaking their Oath of Allegiance, that he confirm'd them in their Duty to such a Degree, that they unanimously promis'd to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of the King. *Robert*, who expected Matters wou'd have gone quite otherwise, plainly saw, this turn wou'd prove very prejudicial to his Affairs. He had not so much depended on his own Forces as on the Assistance of the *English*. In hopes that the Majority would abandon the King in order to join him, he had proceeded so far as to threaten such as persisted to support the Interest of the Usurper; for so he stil'd his Brother. But when he found that the Body of the Nation declar'd for the King, and the Army had just renew'd their Oath of Allegiance, he was sensible his Design was become impossible. Thus falling on a sudden from the top of all his Hopes, he clos'd in immediately with the Proposals of Peace the King had sent him. An Accommodation appear'd to him so much the more necessary, as he perceiv'd that even those that at first had been the most zealous for him, began to waver. Things standing thus, and the two Brothers being equally desirous to come to a Treaty, the Lords of both Parties met together to consult upon the Means. 'Twas easy to see that *Robert* did not expect to obtain by Treaty a Crown, which was not in his Power to acquire by Arms. So that in consideration that *Henry* was already crown'd, and that he was born in the Kingdom after the King his Father-

*Robert
strikes up
a Peace
with his
Brother.*

Father was on the Throne, the Result of the Conference was, that he shou'd keep possession of the Crown. He promis'd for his Part, to deliver up to *Robert* the Castles in *Normandy*, that were garrison'd with *English*, and to pay him yearly the Sum of 3000 Marks. It was stipulated also, that if one of the two Brothers died without Children, the other shou'd be his Heir. This Agreement being sign'd and sworn to by twelve Lords of each Side, the Armies were disbanded. *Robert* staid two whole Months at the Court of *England*, living in perfect Amity with his Brother.

This Accommodation was very advantagious to the King on several Accounts. It not only secur'd him the Crown which he ran some Risk of losing, but moreover render'd him more fear'd and esteem'd, when People saw that he had found the means by his Prudent and steady Conduct, to extricate himself out of so slippery and dangerous a Business. However, he cou'd not forget the Hazard he had run. As he was apprehensive

his Enemies might hereafter make fresh Attempts to de-throne him, whenever an Opportunity offer'd, he resolv'd to be beforehand with them, by ruining them one after another. 'Twas no hard matter for him to make them

feel by turns, the Effects of his Resentment. Opportunities of being reveng'd are seldom wanting to thole who have the Power in their Hands. Soon after the Treaty, he attack'd, on divers Pretences, *Hugh de Grantmenil*, *Robert de Pontefract*, and some others, who plainly perceiv'd that their greatest Crime consisted in the Good-will they had born the Duke of *Normandy*. He was parti-

cularly exasperated against *Robert de Belesme*, because he had shown him the least Respect, and still continued to

discover his Desire of exercising new Troubles. This young Lord, who was Son to the late Earl of *Mongomery*, boldly gave out, that *Henry* was an Usurper, and that 'twas a dishonourable Thing for the *Normans* as well as for the *English*, to suffer him to take the Crown from his elder Brother. He was not satisfied with talking thus indifferently, but render'd himself formidable, by fortifying

1102.
Ord. Vital.
Brady.

Henry re-
venges
himself on
his Enem-
ties.

He attacks
Robert de
Belesme.

1102. fortifying his Castles in *Shropshire*. The King, who had determin'd to ruin him, was not displeas'd at his giving him so fair a Handle to do it by his imprudent Proceedings. To complete his Destruction, he had set Spies about him, who feigning to come into his Measures, observ'd all his Actions, and took care to have such Things said to him before suborn'd Witnesses, as tended to render him criminal. When the King thought he had Evidence enough against him, he order'd him to be accus'd of five and forty Articles, the least of which was sufficient to bring him in guilty. *Beleme* being oblig'd to appear in Court, ask'd leave for Time to prepare his Answer, which being granted him, he took the Opportunity to make his Escape and retire to *Shrewsbury*, where he hop'd he shou'd be able to defend himself by the Assistance of the *Welsh*, who had espous'd his Cause. When he had resolv'd upon this, he buoy'd himself up with the Hopes of Succors from several other Lords, who seem'd to be entirely of the same Mind with himself. But whether he had been impos'd upon, or whether they did not think him a fit Person to be at the Head of such an Enterprize, he found himself abandon'd by all, and by that means saw, tho' too late, the Vanity of his Projects. The King having proclaim'd him a *Traytor*, march'd against him with so superior a Force, that in few Days he became Master of *Shrewsbury*, where the Rebel durst not stay his coming. After which, he took all his other Castles, and compell'd him to quit all that the Earl his Father had held in *England*, and to retire to *Normandy*, where he carried with him his Ill-Temper. *Henry* confiscated his Estate, and involv'd his Brothers in the same Punishment, notwithstanding their Innocency, so desirous was he of rooting out the whole Family.

1103. The Insolence of this Lord was not the occasion of so much Trouble to the King, as the Haughtiness of Archbishop *Anselm*, with whom he had a Contest which threw him into great Perplexities. The Archbishop had two Projects in his Head, which cou'd not in all likelihood be brought about without much difficulty. The first

Contest be-
tween the
King and
Anselm,
about In-
solencies.

first was, to oblige the *Clergy* to live unmarried, and the second, to wrest from the King the *Investiture* of Bishops and Abbots. To attain his Ends, he *conven'd* a *Synod*, where in the first Place he got all the married Priests to be excommunicated, tho' they were very numerous then in *England*. *Henry*, who was not much concern'd in this Matter, being unwilling to give the Archbishop any Disgust, the Decree pass'd in the *Synod*, notwithstanding the Struggles of the inferior *Clergy* to the contrary, who in vain tried to ward off that Blow. An Historian remarks on this Point, that altho' *Anselm's* good Intentions were generally applauded, yet 'twas thought 'twou'd be a Thing of dangerous Consequence to compel the Priests to a Continency, which 'twas not in the Power of several amongst them to observe; and adds, 'twas justly fear'd that this Rigour wou'd occasion their committing Uncleanness of a much more criminal Nature than the Marriage they were prohibited from.

Anselm having gain'd his Ends in the first Point, set about the other, and wou'd have proceeded to excommunicate the Bishops that had been invested by the King. But here the Case was quite different from the former. The King's Interest was too much concern'd, not for him to oppose to the utmost of his Power the abolishing a Prerogative, his Predecessors had enjoy'd without Molestation. But how much soever he exerted himself on this Occasion, he cou'd not prevent some Bishops, who had receiv'd their *Investitures* from him, from resigning their Bishopricks out of fear of being excommunicated. On the other Hand, *Anselm* refus'd to consecrate such as were nominated to their Bishopricks by the King, unless he wou'd give up the Right of *Investitures*. This new Claim which the Archbishop very boldly asserted, finding himself back'd by the Court of *Rome*, occasion'd between him and the King a Quarrel which continued on Foot several Years. As *Henry* wou'd not recede from his Prerogative, *Anselm* affirm'd that for his Part, he cou'd not submit without betraying the Causè of God. All hopes of an Accommodation being taken-away by the Ob-

Anselm
applies to
the Pope
Paris

1103.

Paris.

stiny of both Parties, the Archbishop resolv'd to carry his Complaints to *Paschal* II. who was then Pope. In all appearance 'twas by his Orders that he had embark'd in this Enterprize. He was attended in his Journey by the Prelates that had resign'd their Bishopricks, and upon his Arrival at *Rome*, instantly demanded of the Pope, that he wou'd be pleas'd to restore them by his Authority : *Then, says an Historian, the Holy See, whose Clemency is open to all the World, provided care be taken to prepare it beforehand by a certain dazzling Metal, restor'd the Bishops, and sent them back to their respective Churches.* The King being inform'd that *Anselm* was gone to *Rome*, dispatch'd thither Ambassadors to plead his Cause. *Hebert* Bishop of *Norwich*, and *Robert* of *Lichfield*, were pitch'd upon for this Purpose, and set out for *Rome*, in Company with *William de Warewast*, an Ecclesiastick of great Learning, who was to assist them with his Advice. Tho' these Ambassadors maintain'd the King's Cause with a great deal of Zeal and Resolution, *Paschal* wou'd abate nothing of his Pretensions. The Affair was carried so far that the King was upon the Point of being excommunicated. On the other Hand, the Archbishop was depriv'd of his Temporalities, during his being out of the Kingdom. At length, after a great many Contests for near three Years together, both Parties happening to be in such Circumstances, as made them equally wish to see an End to the Quarrel, the Pope gave the Bishops leave to do Homage to the King, and *Henry* gave up the Point of Investitures. Thus this Business was brought to a Conclusion, which I have but just mention'd here, because I design to treat more fully of it in another Place.

1104.
Rob.
visits the
King his
Brother.
Ann. Six.
Malm.

Tho' the King's Contest with the Court of *Rome* gave him a great deal of Trouble whilst it lasted, yet it did not hinder him from minding his other Affairs. *Robert* his Brother, who was then in *England*, but too well experienc'd how attentive he was to any thing that was like to turn to his Advantage. The Reason of the Duke of *Normandy*'s Visit, was to press the Payment of his Pension. But *Henry* knowing his Brother's mild and gene-

rous Temper, careſ'd him in ſuch a Manner, and gave him ſo good Words, that he got him inſenſibly to deſiſt from his Demands. This unfeafonable Piece of Ge-nerofity coſt the Duke very dear, ſince it proved the occaſion of his ruin in the End. His eaſy and liberal Temper had all along ſpoil'd his Deſigns. We have al-ready feen, in the beginning of the Reign of *Willian Rufus*, how ill he laid out the Money *Henry* had lent him, inſtead of employing it in keeping up his Party in *Eng-land*, by which imprudent management he lost the Crown for that Time. Afterwards he borrow'd ten Thousand Marks of King *William* for his Voyage to the *Holy Land*. This Sum not being ſufficient to defray the great Ex-pences he was at, he had contracted ſo many Debts du-ring the Voyage, and after his Return, that he was fain to mortgage almoſt all his *Demeuſes*. He had nothing left hut the City of *Roan*, which he wou'd have mort-gag'd, if the Burghers wou'd have conſented to it. His Wants, which daily encreas'd, quickly made him ſenſible of his overſight in not inſiſting upon the Penſion, which he might juſtly demand of his Brother. He complain'd they had abuſ'd his eaſy Nature; and as he imprudently added to his Complaints, ſome Menaces, he gave *Henry* a handle openly to act againſt him. The King did not want much ſpurring on to break entirely with his Bro-ther. Ever ſince he found himſelf in peaceable Poſſeſſion of *England*, he began to look with a greedy Eye on *Nor-mandy*, and was extremely deſirous of annexing it to his Crown. *Robert's* ill Conduſt confirm'd him in the Hopes of being one Day Maſter of that Dutchy. And as he waited only for a favourable Opportunity to put his De-signs in Execution, he did not fail to lay hold of the firſt that offer'd.

It has been related, that *Robert de Beleſme*, after he had loſt his Estates in *England*, was retir'd to *Normandy*: Where he was no sooner arriv'd but he endeavour'd to be reveng'd on the King, by falling upon ſuch of his Subjects as had Lands in thoſe Parts, under a Pretence of making himſelf amends for what the King had taken

1104.
Gives up
his Penſi-
ons:

Repents of
it, and
complains
of the King.

Beleſme
raifes
Troubles
in Nor-
mandy.
Brady.

1104.
Defeats
the Duke,

from him in *England*. The Duke's Indolence in not opposing these Outrages at first, render'd this Lord the more fierce and presumptuous. He committed so many Violences, that Complaints were brought against him from every Quarter. At length, *Robert*, rouz'd by the People's Murmurs, resolv'd to chastise him, and levied an Army to put a stop to these Disorders : But had the Misfortune to be worsted. The Rebel, blown up with his Success, and spurr'd on by his Audaciousness and Ambition, form'd a Project of becoming Master of the whole Dutchy. Whilst he was carrying on his Design, he was strengthen'd by the eldest of the Conqueror's two half-Brothers. Not being satisfied with the Earldom of *Cornwall*, he pretended that the King ought to give him up moreover the Earldom of *Kent*, which his Uncle the Bishop of *Bayeux* had enjoy'd. But not meeting with that Satisfaction in this particular, which he had expected, he fell into so great a Passion with the King, as even to threaten him. His insolent Behaviour caus'd the King to dispossess him of the Earldom of *Cornwall*, as a Punishment for his Rashness. Upon which, not being able to stay any longer in *England*, he retir'd extremely dissatisfied into *Normandy*. As soon as he was arriv'd, he join'd *Robert de Belesme*, and strengthen'd his Party in such a manner, that the Duke was fain to strike up a Peace with them on Terms very dishonourable to a Sovereign Prince.

1105.
The Nor-
mans ap-
ply to the
King of
England.
Vital.
Malm.

This Peace, instead of restoring Tranquillity to the Country, serv'd only to increase the Insolence of the two Earls, who contemning the Duke's Orders, continued daily to commit Ravages insupportable both to the Nobles and People. At length, some of the chief Men of the Country finding themselves thus oppress'd by these two Tyrants, without any hopes of Protection from the Duke, enter'd into a Resolution of applying to the King of *England* for Redress. Their Suit was very welcome to *Henry*, who only wanted a Pretence to interfere in the Affairs of *Normandy*, that he might have an Opportunity of seizing the Dutchy. But as his Design was des-

testable

testable in it self, he endeavour'd to give it the Face of Justice, by making appear he acted from quite another Motive. To this Purpose, he writ a Letter to his Brother, wherein he represented to him, that his Conduct gave the *Normans* just Cause of Complaint, since he protected Persons who ought to be look'd upon as Enemies to the Publick; That the Peace he had concluded with them, leaving the Country expos'd to their Ravages, his Subjects cou'd no longer consider as their Sovereign, a Prince from whom they cou'd expect no Protection; That he entreated him therefore to redress the Grievances the *Normans* complain'd of, or not to think it strange, that in case he wou'd not, he shou'd himself espouse the Cause of those that made their Application to him. To these Remonstrances, he subjoin'd some Complaints of certain Injuries, which he pretended had been done to himself, and demanded speedy Satisfaction. No doubt he wou'd have taken it very ill, if the Duke had meddled or made with his Affairs. But such is the unrighteous Proceedings of most Men, that they make no scruple to practice themselves what they condemn in others, and fancy that the World is so blind as not to see the Injustice of their Actions, because they have the address to varnish them over with the Pretence of Love and Kindness.

Whilst *Henry* made as if he had no other Design but to relieve the *Normans*, he himself oppres'd his own Subjects, by an exorbitant Tax. He pretended, he was forc'd to go and wage War with the two Tyrants of *Normandy*; a War, wherein the *English* were not at all concern'd. Notwithstanding his fair Promises to the People, this Tax was levied with all the Rigour imaginable, even to the imprisoning and plaguing divers ways, such as refus'd, or had not wherewithal to pay it. As soon as his Preparations were finish'd, he went to *Normandy* with a numerous Army, carrying with him large Sums of Money, with which he brib'd the Nobles and Governors of the strong-Holds. He cou'd the better do this, as *Robert* was not in a Condition to traverse his Designs, Henry
levies an
Army in
England.
Brady.

*and pass'd
over into
Norman-
dy, where
he makes
great Pro-
gress.*

or

1105. or to secure the Allegiance of his Subjects by the same Methods. The posture of Affairs affording the King better Opportunities than he cou'd expect at any other Time, he seiz'd upon *Caen* and some other Cities. The Duke of *Britaign* and the Earl of *Anjou* even permitted him to garrison some of the Frontier Towns, for fear of drawing upon themselves the brunt of the War, design'd against *Robert*. On the other Hand, they that had invited him over to their Assistance, plainly foreseeing that if the Quarrel was made up, it must needs tend to their Prejudice, never ceas'd exhorting him to push on his Conquests, and make himself Master of all *Normandy*. They represented to him, that 'twas the only way to ease them of the Oppressions they lay under, seeing they cou'd expect no Assistance from their Sovereign. The Bishop of *Seez*, sworn Enemy to the two Earls, who had outed him of his Diocese, blew up the Flame to the utmost of his Power, and miss'd no Opportunity of stirring up *Henry* to go through with his Undertaking. One day, as he was with him in the Church of *Carenton*, he caus'd him to take notice how full the Church was of Goods, which the People had brought thither to secure them from the plundering Tyrants. This gave him occasion to make a long Harangue, wherein he represented to him, that the Rise of all their Miseries was owing to the carelessness or connivance of the Duke; and added, that the Country wou'd never be restor'd to its former Tranquillity, till they had another Master. In fine, he conjur'd the King to take upon him the Government, and free the *Normans*, the antient Subjects of his Family, from the wretched State they were reduc'd to. *Henry*, who only wanted a Cloak for his Injustice, listen'd very attentively to this Discourse, and pretending to be touch'd with Compassion for the *Normans*, promis'd to exert his utmost to procure them the Relief they expected at his Hands. However, he express'd an extreme Regret at being forc'd to deprive his Brother of his Dominions, who by reason of his Incapacity was running headlong into Destruction. Pursuant to this Resolution,

solution, which he pretended to have taken up purely out of Necessity, and in Compliance to the Intreaties of the *Normans*, he continued the War. *Robert* made but a weak Defence, because not having in the least suspected the King's Designs, he had no Time to prepare himself. So that *Henry*, having put matters on so good a Foot, in his first Campagne, return'd to *England* with a Design to raise during the Winter, the Money and Forces he shou'd have occasion for to finish the Work he had so happily begun.

The Duke of *Normandy* was then in a very wretched Case. He perceiv'd at length that his Ruin was determin'd, but knew not how to prevent his Fate. In this *Perplexity*, he resolv'd upon going to the King his Brother, to try to move him by humbling himself before him. As he himself was of a kind and generous Disposition, so he cou'd not believe but the King was of the same Temper. Possess'd with this Notion, he came to *England*, where he sued for Peace, in a manner suitable enough to his Condition, but unworthy of the Son of *William the Conqueror*. *Henry*, who was not of so easy a Nature, was deaf to all his Intteaties. He had got it in his Head, to lay hold of the present Juncture, to become Master of *Normandy*. Accordingly nothing cou'd prevail upon him to come to an Accommodation, which wou'd have very much curtail'd his Designs. For this Reason, he obstinately refus'd to enter into any Negotiation, and thought he dealt very kindly by his Brother, in permitting him to return Home. *Robert* finding nothing was to be done, departed full of Rage and Vexation, and threatning highly what he wou'd do; which *Henry* little regarded. An Historian * assures us however, that the King felt some Remorse for the Injury he was doing his Brother, who had never given him any Cause of just Complaint, and from whom he had already taken a Crown. But if he had any such Thoughts, they were but short-liv'd. The only Effect these Reflections had on him, was to inspire him with a Dread, that his Brother's Wrongs might stir up the Compassion of the English, * Malm. * Paris.

1106. Paris. *list*, and revive the Affection they had formerly shown for that Prince. This Thought giving him some Uneasiness, he judg'd it necessary to prepossess his Subjects in his Favour, by renewing his Promises. To this End, he conven'd the Great Council or Parliament, and endeavour'd, in a premeditated Discourse, to make appear to the Assembly the Justice of his Undertaking. He represented to them, " That Robert's refusing the Kingdom of *Jerusalem* had drawn down on his Head the Vengeance of God, by whom, ever since that time, he had been visibly forsaken, as a Prince unworthy of his Care, after he had slighted so great a Favour (a). He aggravated the Oppressions the *Normans* groan'd under, and strove to make the *English* believe, 'twas incumbent on them to take in Hand the Defence of a miserable People. He desir'd the Lords to consider his own peaceable Temper, and how patiently he had taken his Brother's Menaces, to which he had made no other return but brotherly and gentle Admonitions. He dwelt very much upon the Duke's ill Qualities. He display'd his excessive Profuseness, which made him a continual Burden to all the World. Moreover he accus'd him of an extreme arrogance, and of having on all occasions shewn an utter Contempt for the *English* Nation. He assur'd them for his Part, that he persisted always in his Resolution of governing according to just Laws, of which the *Charter* he had granted them was an undeniable Argument. In fine, he added, that provided he was sure of the Hearts and Affections of the *English*, he valued nothing that his Enemies cou'd do against him." This Speech had the Effect he expected from it. All the Lords finding themselves honour'd by the Confidence he plac'd in them, and flattering themselves that he wou'd make good his Promises, unanimously assur'd him they wou'd stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.

What,

(a) Hence 'tis plain that 'twas believ'd in *England* that Robert had refus'd the Crown of *Jerusalem*; otherwise Henry cou'd not have urg'd it against his Brother.

What colour soever the King might give his Ambition, 'twas easy to see the weaknes of the Reasons he alledg'd in Vindication of his Undertaking. The Truth is, his Reasons were not so much as plausible. The pretended Refusal of the Crown of *Jerusalem* had no better Foundation than an uncertain Rumour spread over *England*, the which in all likelihood was false; seeing the best Historians make no mention of that Particular. But supposing the Thing had been as true as it was doubtful, *Robert* might possibly, in refusing the Crown, have acted out of Modesty, as well as from a Principle of Pride or Irreligion. But be this as it will, *Henry* cou'd have no Right from thence to deprive him of his Dominions. It is evident therfore, that the sole Motive of the *English* Lords declaring they wou'd assist him, was his solemn Promise to cause his *Charter* to be kept, which till then had been much neglected.

1106.
Remarks
on the
King's
Speech.

Henry laid hold of the Declaration the *English* had just made in his Favour, to get from them a Grant of fresh Subsidies, by the means of which he made a considerable Addition to his Troops. As soon as the Season permitted, he set Sail with a numerous Fleet, in order to complete the Conquest of *Normandy*. He open'd the Campagne with the Siege of *Tinchebray*, where the Earl of *Mortaigne*, who had sided with the Duke, had brought a strong Reinforcement. As this Place was of great Strength, and well provided with Necessaries, it held out long enough for *Robert* to come to its Relief. Ever since the Duke had parted from the King his Brother without being able to prevail with him to come to an Accommodation, he had join'd the Earl of *Mortaigne*, and *Robert de Belesme*, who had led all their Forces to his Assistance. The King of *France* had also sent him some Troops, and several *Norman* Lords were come over to his Side; as soon as they had perceiv'd that *Henry* was not acting so much for theirs as for his own Sake. All these Succours having enabled the Duke to give his Brother Battle, he march'd towards him with that Resolution. The two Armies were pretty near equal in numbers. *Robert*

turns to
Norman-
dy.
Ann. Sax.
Vital.
Fl. Wig.

1107.

Battle of Tinchebray, where Robert is taken Prisoner,

Sax. Ann.

and shut up in Cardiffe-Castle.

Mezeray.

Malm.

had more *Foot*, but not so many *Horse* by a good deal as the King. Thus each Side might flatter themselves with the Hopes of Success. However, the Battle, which was fought under the Walls of *Tinchebray*, lasted not very long. The *Norman Horse* being put in Disorder at the first Onset, and the *Foot* not being able to maintain the Fight without their Aid, the whole Army was entirely routed, and the *English* had nothing to do but to kill or take Prisoners. The Duke of *Normandy*, perceiving there was no possibility of rallying his Troops, and not being able to bear the Thoughts of turning his Back, chose rather to be taken than show the least signs of Cowardice. *Edgar Atheling*, the Earl of *Mortaigne*, 400 Knights, and ten thousand Soldiers had the same Fate. As the Battle of *Hastings* had made the *Normans* Masters of *England*, so this which was fought about 40 Years after, put the *English* in possession of *Normandy*. Prince *Edgar*, who had often been the Sport of Fortune, was immediately set free, and went and pass'd the residue of his Days in *England*, where he died of extreme old Age. The Duke of *Normandy*, and Earl of *Mortaigne*, were not so favourably dealt with. The Earl was shut up in the Tower of *London*, and the Duke in *Cardiffe-Castle* in *Wales*, where he remain'd a Prisoner to his Death, which was not till 26 Years after. Some say, that this unfortunate Prince having attempted to make an Escape, *Henry* order'd his Sight to be taken away by having a burning-hot Brass Basin held before his Eyes

(a). But the silence of most of the best Historians in this Point, render the Fact something improbable. I say not this to excuse the Hard-heartedness of the King, who ought to have call'd to Mind the Generosity of *Robert* to him, during the Siege of St. *Michael's Mount*, tho' he had forgot he was his Brother. In vain does an Historian endeavour to justify him, by taking notice, that *Robert* had never lov'd him during their younger years, and had done him many Injuries. Such a Reason as this

(a) Hence the *Italian* word, *Abacinare*, to blind. *Menage, Orig. de la lang. Ital.*

this will scarce serve the Purpose the Author alledges it for.

1107.

The Victory of *Tinchebray* having made the King Master of all *Normandy*, he return'd in Triumph to *England*. Upon his Arrival, his first Care was to make some Regulations for his Court, where for a long while, several Abuses had crept in which call'd for a Reformation. In Paris, the former Reign, when the King took a Progress, Those who follow'd the Court, committed all manner of Outrages in the Places where they lodg'd. They shamefully extorted what they pleas'd from their Hosts, and made Attempts on the Chastity of the Women, without any one's daring to contradict them. Coyners of false Money were grown very numerous, and bare-fac'd, being sure of the Protection of the Great, who set them at Work in their Houses, where no Body durst search for them. These disorderly doings not having ceas'd upon the King's Edict in the beginning of his Reign, he publish'd a second with still greater Penalties. This was a necessary Piece of Severity in order to check the Licentiousness spread over the Kingdom, by the Connivence Offences of this nature had hitherto met with.

Henry becomes Master of all Normandy.

Before the War in *Normandy*, Henry had positively assur'd his Subjects, he wou'd govern them according to Equity, and maintain them in their Privileges. But Prosperity made him quite forget his Promises. Immediately after his Return, it was observ'd, he was become more haughty and less popular than he was before. He treated the Nobles with an intolerable Arrogance, even to the making use when speaking to them, of very abusive Language. Besides he gave himself but little Trouble about his own *Charter*, nor corrected any Abuses that turn'd to his Profit. He had no regard for any Body but *Anselm*. The Trouble that Prelate had given him, made him look upon all occasions of quarrelling with him as so many dangerous Quick-sands, which he was resolv'd to avoid. But his Precautions serv'd only to render *Anselm* more Haughty and Imperious than he was before their Contests. The Archbishop finding the King out of fear of engag-

1108.

He becomes more haughty towards his Subjects.

1408.

ing in fresh Disputes, refrain'd from meddling with *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, took this Opportunity to prosecute, with the utmost Rigour, the Priests who obstinately persisted in keeping their Wives. His Disgrace and long Absence had made them hope, they shou'd at length be freed from his Persecutions. But he quickly let them see, that when once he had begun a Thing, he did not do it by halves. Some Time after his Return, he call'd a *Synod*, where at his Instance, severe Penalties were decreed against all Clergymen, who liv'd on in a state of Marriage. There were some that were actually depriv'd of their *Livings*. But so far was this Rigour from having any good Effect, that it only prov'd the occasion of the *Clergy's* committing real Crimes, instead of the pretended Disorders of a Matrimonial State.

The King of France has a Design upon Henry. Eadm. Vital. Hunting.

The King did not much concern himself in this Regulation of the *Synod's*. 'Twas a Thing indifferent to him, whether the *Clergy* married or liv'd single. And therefore he left the Archbishop to act as he pleas'd, without intermeddling in the matter. He was like to have another Affair upon his Hands, which much better deserv'd his Attention, *Lewis the Fat*, King of *France*, who had just succeeded his Father *Philip*, looking upon *Henry* as a very formidable Neighbour since his becoming Master of *Normandy*, was in quest of the means how to lower his over-grown Power. To this Purpose, he design'd to make use of as his Instrument, *William*, Sir-nam'd *Crito*, Son to *Robert*, a young Prince of great Hopes, but under Age. How careful soever he might be to conceal his Intentions, *Henry* having had notice of them, went suddenly over to *Normandy*, where he order'd his Nephew to be taken into safe Custody, to prevent any Insurrection upon his Account. *Lewis* by this Proceeding perceiving that his Design had taken Air, put off the Execution of it to a better Opportunity. In the mean Time, the young Prince having made his Escape out of Prison, by the means of his Tutor, was carried to *Paris*, and other Courts, where he in vain sollicited for Aid and Assistance to recover the Duke his Father's Dominions,

minions. The neighbouring Princes stood too much in Awe of *Henry* to venture upon espousing his Cause. As for the *Normans*, tho' many of them were well inclin'd to the Son of their Sovereign, and several even contributed privately towards his Maintenance, they durst not openly declare in his Favour.

After *Henry* had spent the Winter and part of the Summer in *Normandy*, he return'd to *England*, where soon after, Embassadors came to him from the Emperor *Henry V.* to demand his Daughter *Matilda* in Marriage. He very joyfully receiv'd the Proposal, and as soon as the Terms were agreed upon, The Wedding was celebrated by *Proxy*. As the Princess was very young, 'twas not till the Year following that she was sent to the Emperor her Spouse with a magnificent Retinue, and a very considerable Sum of Money for her Portion.

The necessity of his paying his Daughter's Marriage-
Portion furnish'd the King with a Pretence to lay a Tax
of three Shillings on every *Hide* of Land. This Tax
brought him in an immense Sum, if it be true, as some
pretend to have calculated it, that it was equal then to
824,850*l.* Sterling now. The Custom of raising Mo-
ney for the Marriage-Portions of the King's Daughter,
was introduc'd by this Prince, and very carefully kept
up by his Successors, who found it too beneficial to let
it drop. Hence may be seen, how much Innovations of
this Kind, which have the Force of a Law from one sin-
gle Precedent, are prejudicial to a free People.

Before the Marriage was solemniz'd, Death had taken *Anselm's*
out of the World *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a *Death*.
learned Prelate for that Age, but haughty and bigotted
to the last degree. 'Tis very reasonable to suppose, that
his Zeal for the Court of *Rome*, his Firmness in the mat-
ter of *Investitures*, and his labouring so heartily all his Life,
to establish the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy* in *England*, gave
him a Title to a place in the *Calendar*. As soon as *An-
selm* was laid in his Grave, the King seiz'd upon the Re-
venues of the Archbishoprick, and kept them in his Hands
for five Years. The *Clergy* were in hopes that the Per-
secution,

1109.
Matilda
Henry's
Daughter
married to
the Emper-
or Hen-
ry V.

Money
rais'd to
pay her
Portion.!

Eadm. 1109. secution, they had endur'd whilst he was alive, woud end with his Death ; but the Court of *Rome* was no leis zealous to support what the Archbishop had done purely by their Orders. Besides the King, who was very unwilling to break with the Pope, strictly enjoin'd what had been establish'd. So that the *Clergy* were compell'd to lead in appearance, continent Lives, by being debarr'd from marrying. But they made themselves amends in Private for this Restraint, by committing the most enormous Crimes. At least This is what the Writers of that Age make no scruple to lay to their Charge.

Echard. 1110. *Restorati-*
on of
Learning
at Cam-
bridge. The Year 1110 was memorable for the Restitution of Learning at *Cambridge*, from whence it had been long banish'd. According to the general Opinion, *Edward the Elder*, had formerly founded an *University* there. But the Town had suffer'd so much in the *Danish Wars*, that the Study of the *Sciences* fell to decay, and never lifted up its Head again till the Time we are speaking of.

Malm. 1111. *Henry*
puts the
Earl of
Maine to
Death. *Hunt.*
Fl. Wig. The following Year, *Henry* cross'd the Sea in order to stop the Progress of *Fulk Earl of Anjou*, who had drawn in the City of *Constance* in *Normandy*, to revolt. *Elias Earl of Maine*, who had espous'd the Interest of *Fulk*, having been taken Prisoner in a Battle, was put to Death. *Henry* thought this Instance of Severity necessary to strike a Dread into the *Normans*, whose revolting he was apprehensive of, well knowing that *France* woud be ever ready to back them.

Wales. 1112. *Henry set-*
tles a Colo-
ny of
Flemings in
Wales. Before he went to *Normandy*, *Henry* had admitted into *England* great Numbers of *Flemings*, who by the Innundation of the Sea in their own Country, were compell'd to seek elsewhere for new Habitations. He planted them at first in the waste Parts of *York-shire* *. But upon the Complaints made to him after his Return, he remov'd them to the Country conquer'd from the *Welsh*, about *Ros* and *Pembroke*. Their Posterity continue there

to

* They were first settled in *Northumberland*, and from thence remov'd to *Wales*, says *Florence of Worcester*, An. 1111. The *Flemings-way*, a work of Theirs, is seen in *Pembrokeshire* extended thro' a long Tract of Land.

to this Day, retaining so much of their old Customs and Language as distinguishes them plainly from the *Welsh*, and shows they are of foreign Extraction.

Henry had no time to make any long stay in *England*. The Year after, he was oblig'd to pass over into *Normandy*, upon the King of *France's* stirring up a fresh War there, by persuading the Earl of *Anjou* to take up Arms again. This War gave him some Trouble; but he happily surmounted all Difficulties. *Lewis* had even the Mortification to see the Earl of *Anjou* fall off from his Party, who by that means, got the Advantage of marrying his Daughter to Prince *William*, Son to *Henry*. During the King's stay in *Normandy*, he had the satisfaction of having his most inveterate Enemy *Robert de Beaufort* fall into his Hands, who was sent into *England* and detain'd in Prison all his Life. These Troubles being over, *Henry* return'd to *England*, where he liv'd in Peace during the five following Years, no one giving him any disturbance except the *Welsh*, who now and then made some Incursions.

During this Calm, the Pope and Clergy prevail'd at length upon him, to permit the *Vacancies* in the Church to be fill'd, particularly the *See of Canterbury*, the Revenues of which he had now enjoy'd five Years. As soon as he had given his Consent, a *Synod* was conven'd, where *Ralph* Bishop of *Rochester* was unanimously chosen *Archbishop*, to the great Satisfaction of the People, by whom he was mightily esteem'd. *Thurstan*, one of the King's Chaplains, was nominated to the *See of York*. At the same Time all other vacancies were fill'd up, but with such partiality to the *Normans*, as gave the *English* just cause to complain.

The *Welsh* growing more and more troublesome on the Frontiers, *Henry* determin'd not to chastise them only, but to root them out entirely. Pursuant to this barbarous Resolution, he enter'd *Wales* with a numerous Army, which he divided into three Bodies, in order to surround them on all sides. But upon his Approach, they having retir'd to their Mountains, 'twas not possible for him to come

1113.
He goes again into Normandy, and marries his Daughter to the Earl of Anjou Vital Malm.

1114.
He fills up the vacancies in the Church.

Henry invades the Welsh.

1114. come at them. However he was bent to confine them there a long time. But at length finding there was no drawing them from their Retreat, he consented to make Peace. As soon as he was return'd to London, he receiv'd News of his Daughter Matilda's Marriage being consummated, and of her Coronation at Mentz.

1115. Shortly after, Henry went over to Normandy, where he got the States to swear Fealty to Prince William his Son, who was then 12 Years of Age. The Year following, he did the same in England in order to secure the Crown to his Family. To this End, he summon'd a general Assembly at Salisbury, where all that were present promis'd to acknowledge Prince William for their Sovereign, after the Death of the King his Father, and accordingly took their Oath to him. From this Assembly it is that some pretend

An. Sax. Malm. and like-
wise the English.
1116. to derive the Original of the Right of the Commons sitting in Parliament. They maintain, that in Imitation of what was practis'd in Normandy, Henry summon'd the Commons as well as the Nobility and Clergy, and that this was the first time that the Representatives of the People were admitted to sit in Parliament *. Others affirm, the general Assemblies of the Nation had been disus'd before this. In fine, there are who assure us this Assembly was the First that was stil'd a Parliament. Of these three Opinions, the First can never be prov'd; the Second is evidently false; and the Third, very uncertain:

1117. Ever since Lewis the Fat came to the Crown of France, Henry is reveng'd on Lewis for creating him Troubles. he had never ceas'd creating Henry Trouble, either by countenancing the Male-contents in Normandy, or by stirring up the Neighbouring Princes against him. Altho' he generally took care to act underhand, yet Henry was not

* Malmesbury, says, " All the Freemen of England and Normandy, of whatsoever Order, or Dignity, or to what Lord soever they were Vassals or Tenants, were made to do Homage and swear Fealty to William, the Son of King Henry and Queen Matilda." But this is nothing like a Parliament. Polydore Virgil, and from him Stow and Speed's Chronicle commence the Beginning of our Parliaments from this Assembly, but without citing the least Authority for it.

not ignorant of his being at the bottom of all the Intrigues of his Petty Enemies, and therefore to be even with him he resolv'd to serve him in his own Kind. *Theobald, Earl of Blois*, his Nephew, Son to his Sister *Adela*, being disgusted at the King of *France*, *Henry* stirr'd him up to a Revenge, and having perswaded him to take up Arms, lent him a powerful Assistance. *Lewis*, on his Part, invested *William Crito*, Son to *Robert* with the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and promis'd to aid him with all his Forces to take possession of it. Back'd with the Assistance of *France* and of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, the young Prince attempted to wrest *Normandy* out of the hands of the King his Uncle. *Lewis* acted not under-hand in this Affair, but above-board. He claim'd, as Sovereign Lord of *Normandy*, a Right to dispose of that Dutchy, more especially since it was to the only Son of Duke *Robert*, who was unjustly detain'd in Prison. His Army having been reinforce'd by a considerable Body of Troops brought him by the Earl of *Flanders*, he enter'd *Normandy*, with a design to put *William* in Possession.

Lewis invests Crito with Normandy.

1118.

As soon as *Henry* was inform'd of his Enemy's Design's, he made great Preparations for the War, of which the *English* were oblig'd to be at the whole Charge. When all things were ready, he cross'd the Sea, and having join'd Forces with the Duke of *Bretaign* and Earl of *Blois*, he advanc'd towards the Enemy to give them Battle. But *Lewis* not thinking fit to stay his Coming, chose to retire, confounded at his having laid his Measures so ill, and at his Project's being defeated by *Henry*'s Expedition (b). Instead of maintaining what he had taken in Hand, he sent Proposals of Peace to *Henry*, which were not accepted but on condition *Gisors* shou'd be deliver'd up, which he had taken. After the signing of the Treaty *Henry* return'd forthwith into *England*, to prevent the Entry of a Legate;

Henry goes to Normandy.

Makes Peace with Lewis.

(b) The *French* Historians make no Mention of this Retreat or of the Peace that follow'd it, and confound this War in 1118 with that which was renew'd the same Year after the delivering up *Gisors*.

1118. the Pope had sent without asking him Leave. Queen *Matilda* died some Months after, to the great Grief of all the *English*, as well on the Score of her Merit, as because she was descended from the Family of their antient Kings.

Lewis renews the War. In the mean Time, the King of *France* had not dropp'd his first Design. *Henry* having neglected to raze the Walls of *Gisors* according to the Articles of the late Treaty, *Lewis* took Occasion from thence suddenly to invade *Normandy*, and commit there great Ravages. How-ever *Henry* lay still in *England*, and seem'd to take no Notice of this Insult. All the World was amaz'd at his Carelessness. Several even attributed it to his Want of Courage.

At length one of his Courtiers having taken the Freedom to represent to him, how much he wrong'd his own Reputation, he answer'd him, without the least Emotion, that he had learnt of the King his Father, that the best way to vanquish the *French*, was to let their first Heat cool a little. But to show what he did proceeded not from Fear, he soon after pass'd over into *Normandy* with a powerful Army, and offer'd his Enemy Battle. *Lewis* accepting his Challenge, the two Armies engag'd. During the Fight, a *French* Cavalier nam'd *Crispin*, attack'd in person the King of *England*, and struck him twice on the Head with such Force, that altho' the King had a Helmet on, he was all over blood. However this did not hinder him from continuing the Combat. The sight of his Blood rouzing his Courage, he discharg'd so furious a Blow at his Adversary, that he tumbled him from his Horse and took him Prisoner. This Action rais'd such an Emulation among his Troops, that at length, after a sharp Fight, the Enemy was oblig'd to quit the Field. The Standard of *France* was taken and sent in Triumph to *Roan*. Some time after, the two Kings came to a Second Battle, the Success whereof was doubtful, Each Side giving out, they had the Better. In a word, this War prov'd a very smart one, and found the two Monarchs full Employment.

1119. Whilst Acts of Hostilities were continued on both Sides with equal Warmth, *Lewis* endeavour'd to take the Advantage

Council of Jumain.

vantage of the Stay, Pope *Calixtus II.* then made in France, to embroil his Enemy in new Troubles. He was in Hopes that the Pope, who was of the House of *Burgundy*, wou'd be easily induc'd to favour his Designs. With this view, tho' without letting him know his Intentions, he prevail'd upon him to convene a Council at *Rheims*, to which the *English* Bishops were summon'd. *Henry*, mis-trusting nothing, permitted them to be present without any Scruple. He only order'd them when they took their Leave, to salute the Pope in his Name, to hearken to his *Apostolical* Precepts, but to take heed that they brought not back any New Inventions of the Court of *Rome*. The Council consisted mostly of *French* Bishops, some of whom, that were let into the Secret by the King, made heavy Complaints against *Henry*. They even propos'd to excommunicate him, for unjustly detaining the Person and Dominions of the Duke of *Normandy* his Brother, who as one of the *Crusade*, was under the *Church's* Protection. This Proposal wou'd doubtless have been approv'd of by the Majority, had not the Pope, who was unwilling to break with *Henry*, shifted it off by taking upon himself the exhorting of him to do Justice to his Brother. Some time after *Calixtus* came to *Gisors*, where he had a long Conference with the King, whcm he gave to understand that 'twas the Councils Desire that *Robert* shou'd be restor'd to his Dominions. *Henry* replied, That he had not taken *Normandy* from his Brother, but from a Pack of dissolute Fellows, who were squandering away the Inheritance of his Ancestors, which *Robert* had deliver'd them up. He add'd, that he had not proceeded upon his own Head, but by the Sollicitations of the Nobility, Clergy, and People of *Normandy*, who had earnestly besought him to prevent the utter Ruin of the Churches. He took care to back his Reasons with Magnificent Prefents, which wrought so upon the Pope and the Cardinals that attended him, that at their Return, they gave out they had never met with a more Eloquent Prince. Thus *Calixtus*, throwing up the Interests of the imprison'd Duke, used his En-

1119.

deavours to strike up a Peace between the two Kings, in which he succeeded the following Year (4).

1120.
Prince
William
drown'd.

As soon as the Peace was concluded, *Henry*, impatient to return to *England*, from whence he had been long absent, embark'd at *Barfleur* with a numerous Retinue. *William* his Son, who was then Sixteen Years of Age, took with him on board his Ship all the young Nobility, to render his Passage the more agreeable. As he sat out last, he had a mighty Mind to overtake the King his Father, and promis'd the Seamen a Reward, if his Ship arriv'd first. This idle Emulation was in all probability, the cause of the Misfortune that befell him. As the Pilot, in order to get before the King, kept too near the Shore on the Coast of *England*, the Ship touch'd upon a Rock and split. In the Fright this accident caus'd, the Seamen's first Care was to hoist out the Boat, in order to save the Prince, and indeed by their Diligence they had put him out of danger. But as he was making off, the Cries of *Matilda* his Natural Sister prevail'd with him to row back to take her in. His Approach having given several others an Opportunity to leap in, the Boat sunk with its Load, without any possibility of saving the Prince. Of all that stay'd in the Ship, there were but very few that sav'd themselves by Swimming. From these it was that the Circumstances of this tragical Accident came to be known. Among the Rest that perish'd in the Waves, were, besides the Prince, one of his Natural Brothers call'd *Richard*, *Matilda* his Sister Countess of *Perch*, *Lucia* the King's Niece, the Earl of *Chester*, and several Lords, whose debauch'd Lives, as is pretended, but too justly brought down this Judgment on their Heads.*

This

(4) Father *Daniel* says, the Pope threaten'd *Henry* to excommunicate him, and did so. But the *English* Historians speak in a different Manner of this Interview.

* There perish'd in this Shipwreck 140 Persons, most of them young Noblemen, besides 50 Mariners, none escaping but a Butcher. This was look'd upon as a just Judgment, by our Historians, for their being polluted with the Sin of *Sodomy*. The loss

This unexpected Accident had such an Effect on the King, that he was never after seen to laugh. However his extreme Desire to repair his Loss, made him resolve upon marrying *Adelicia*. Daughter to *Geoffrey Earl of Lovain.* But he had not the Satisfaction he expected from this Marriage, she never proving with Child.

The same Year, the *Welsh* made an Incursion into *Cheshire*, under the Conduct of *Gryffin* their King. They burnt several Castles, and committed such Ravages that they drew upon themselves an Invasion from the *English*. *Henry*, at the Head of his Army, over-run Part of their Country. But being desirous one day, of securing a certain Pais, he fell into an Ambush, where he lost abundance of his Men, and was hit himself by an Arrow on his Breast-Plate. This Accident and the Fear of not being able to end the War so successfully as he expected, having prevented him from proceeding any further, he clapt up a Peace with *Gryffin*. However he oblig'd him to give him Hostages, and a thousand Head of Cattle, to make him amends for the Charges of the War.

Not long after, Death took out of the World *Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury*. This Prelate was of an unblameable Life, but so great a stickler for the Prerogatives of his *See*, that he wou'd not suffer the least Infringement even in things of the smallest Consequence. For Instance, on the Solemn Festivals, when the King was wont to wear his Crown, he wou'd not let him put it on himself, pretending that on all Occasions 'twas the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Office to do it. The *Metropolitical See* continued vacant till the ensuing Year, when *Corbet*, Abbot of *St. Bennet's*, was elected by a Synod at *Winchester*.

Henry

loss of this young Prince was not very unhappy for the *English* Nation, if that be true which *Brompton* relates from *Malmsbury* (tho' we can't find it in his History) that he had such an Aversion to the *English*, that he threatened, if ever he came to be King, *he wou'd make them draw the Plough like Oxen*. By this fatal Accident, the Persons, Honours, and Estates of the Heirs of most of the Great Men were in *Henry's* Power; by which means he strengthned his Interest in *England* by marrying their Widows, Daughters and Sisters to his Courtiers and Officers.

1123.
Henry prevents the Revolt of the Normans.
Dunelm.
Hunt.
Vital.

Henry imagin'd that by making a Peace with the King of *France*, he had remov'd all Occasions of War beyond Sea, and that None durst for the future dispute with him the Possession of *Normandy*. Nevertheless *Robert de Mellent*, Lord of *Pont-Audemer* created him fresh Troubles, which oblig'd him to pass over once more to that Dutchy. This Lord, who was in great Credit with the *Normans*, and secretly countenanc'd by the King of *France*, had undertaken to restore *William Crito* to his Dominions. He had brought his Project to that Forwardness, that the Country was just going to revolt, if the King had not suddenly come thither. On his Arrival, he laid Siege to *Pont-Audemer*, and took it. After which, he added some Works to the Castles of *Caen*, *Roan* and *Arques*, and reinforc'd the Garrisons. These Precautions put a stop to the *Normans*, who did not think themselves able to go on with their Design. However *Robert de Mellent* and the Earl of *Montfort* his Associate, kept the Field with some Troops. But being drawn into an Ambush, they were both taken Prisoners, and the rest remain'd in quiet.

1124.
Robert de Mellent taken.

1125.
The Pope's Legate arrives in England.

Whilst the King was in *Normandy*, Cardinal *John de Crème*, the Pope's Legate, came to *England*. The Design of his coming was to put the finishing stroke to the Reformation of the pretended great Abuse of the *Clergy's Marrying*, which they still did, notwithstanding all the Endeavours to the contrary. The Legate was receiv'd in a very pompous Manner, tho' the People were not much pleas'd with it, having not been accustom'd to see *Legates* exercising their Authority in the Kingdom. A Synod being conven'd at *London*, he got several rigorous *Canons* to be pass'd against such Ecclesiasticks, as persisted in keeping their Wives *. These *Canons* however were not capable

* The Legate having severely inveighed against the Priests Marrying, alledging, 'twas a horrid Sin for a Priest to rise from the side of a Harlot, and then to make the Body of Christ; yet the next Night (having said Mass that very Day) he himself was taken in Bed with a Whore. *Huntington*, who was himself a Priest and the Son of a Priest, and living at this very time,

1125.

pable of a putting a Stop to this pretended Licentiousness, tho' the King strictly enjoin'd the Observance of them. But *Henry's* Aim was not so much to prevent the *Clergy* from Marrying, as to obtain from the Pope, by his seeming Zeal, a Power to put in Execution the Decrees of the Councils on this Article, as he did in the Year 1129. When once he was invested with this Authority, he gave the Priests leave, without any scruple, to keep their Wives, upon Payment of so much Money for a Dispensation.

During the Six Years the King had been married, he had expected in vain that God wou'd bless him with Children by his Second Wife. When he found that after so long a time, there was no Appearance of his having what he desir'd, he was quite out of Hopes. However, to secure the Succession to his Family, he resolv'd upon getting his Daughter *Matilda*, who since the Emperor's Death was return'd to *England*, acknowledg'd the presumptive Heir to the Crown. The Advantage this Princess had in being descended by the Mother's side from the antient *Saxon* Kings, endear'd her to the *English*, who were not as yet inur'd to the *Norman* Yoke. On the other Hand, for want of a Prince of their own Nation, it was the Interest of the *Normans* to place on the Throne a Grand-daughter of *William the Conqueror*, to whom they were indebted for all their Possessions in *England*. The Case standing thus, the King was in hopes to succeed in his Design, and to that End assembled all the immediate *Vassals* of the Crown. Among the *Barons* present at this great Council were *Stephen Earl of Bulloign*, Nephew to the King, and *David King of Scotland* on account of the *Fiefs* he held in *England*. All the Members of the Assembly having consented to the King's Proposal, *David* and *Stephen* were the First that took the Oath of Allegiance

1127.
Henry
gets Matilda
acknowl'dg'd his
Heir.

(after an Apology for making so bold with the Fathers of the Church) is the first that gives us this Story at large, and concludes, that the Thing was too Notorious to be denied, neither ought it so be conceal'd.

1127. *giance to Matilda, in Case the King her Father died without any Male-Issue.*

Matilda married to Geoffrey Plantagenet. This Affair being transacted to the King's Satisfaction, he married the Empress to *Geoffrey Plantagenet* Son to *Fulk Earl of Anjou*, who had deliver'd up his Dominions to his Son, in order to go and take Possession of the Crown of *Jerusalem*, upon the Death of *Baldwin II.* his Father-in-law. The King in making Coice of Earl *Geoffrey* for his Daughter, had consulted his own Interest more than *Matilda's* Inclinations. This Princess, who was Widow to an Emperor, thinking she debas'd herself in marrying the Earl of *Anjou*, was with reluctance brought to consent to it. But the King her Father had us'd some violence to bring her to a Compliance. As he was in continual Apprehensions that *William Crito* his Nephew wou'd take *Normandy* from him, he thought he cou'd not do better than secure *Geoffrey* in his Interests, that he might be always ready to assist, in Case that Dutchy shou'd be attack'd.

The Barons are dissatisfied with the Match. If *Matilda* show'd some Reluctance to comply with her Father's Will, the *English* and *Norman* Barons seem'd no less dissatisfied with this Alliance. They imagin'd, they ought to have been consulted in an Affair, the Consequence whereof was the giving them a King. Besides, some of them had secretly flatter'd themselves with the Hopes of one day mounting the Throne, by marrying the Empress. 'Twas easy to foresee therefore, that the Oath, which the King had design'd to bind them by, wou'd be of little Force after his Death. But besides that he imagin'd none wou'd venture to break it, his Dread of the King of *France* and *William Crito* caus'd him to consider only the present Advantage he shou'd have by the Marriage of his Daughter.

1128. *Critomade Earl of Flanders.* 'Twas not without Reason that he was apprehensive of a League between *Lewis* and *William Crito*. The King of *France* no longer concealing his Design of putting the Young Prince in possession of the Duke his Father's Dominions, had already invested him with the Earldom of *Flanders*, that he might the better enable him to wage War with

1128.

with the King his Uncle. To prevent his Enemy's Designs, *Henry* went two ways to work with equal Success. The first was, to carry the War into *France*. The Second, to stir up the *Flemings* to revolt against their New Earl, and side with *Theodoric* of *Alsatia*, who pretended a Title to *Flanders*: Pursuant to this Scheme, he enter'd *France* with a powerful Army, whilst, on the other hand, the Towns in *Flanders* boldly declar'd against his Nephew. *Alost* was the First *William* undertook to reduce to obedience, by a Siege, which lasted long enough to give his Rival time to come to its Relief: *William* having intelligence of *Thodoric*'s Approach, went to meet him, and having gain'd a compleat Victory over him, return'd to carry on the Siege. The Defeat of the *Land-grave* of *Alsatia* wou'd have put it out of the Power of the Besieg'd to hold out any longer; if in one of their Sallies, *William* had not receiv'd a Wound, of which he died in a few days. This young Prince had a good deal of Courage, and several other good Qualities. But in order to avoid the Misfortunes, the Duke his Father had drawn upon his own head by his Profuseness, he ran into the contrary Extreme. This Failing, join'd to some Acts of Violence he had committed in *Flanders*, and his immoderate Love of Women, gain'd him the Hatred of the *Flemings*, and dispos'd them to listen to the Sollicitations of the King his Uncle. The unlucky Accident of this Prince's sudden Death, and the *English* Army being in *France*, oblig'd *Lewis* to drop his Projects and strike up a Peace with *Henry*. From that time to the Day of his Death the King had no more Quarrels with *France*. Neither do we find in the Residue of his Reign, which lasted Six Years longer, but very few Occurrences worth taking Notice of, the principal of which I shall here relate.

In the 30th Year of his Reign, being likewise the 30th of the Century, *Henry* went over to *Normandy*, where he staid the best Part of a Year. His main Business was to have an Interview with Pope *Innocent II.* whom at length he own'd for the true Pope, tho' *Anacletus* his Rival was Master of *Rome*. The chief Difficulty in this

*Is slain at
the Siege
of Alost.*

1130.
*Henry
own's
Inno-
cent II,
for Pope.*

1135. Affair was *France's* having acknowledg'd *Innocent*, and for that very Reason *Henry's* having an Inclination to side with *Anacletus*. But *Innocent* found the means to manage him so dextrously, that he got him to own him for Pope, which did not a little turn to his Advantage.

Barons renew their Oath to Matilda. *Henry*, when he return'd to *England*, brought along with him his Daughter *Matilda*, who upon some Dis-gust was parted from the Earl her Husband. Upon his Arrival, he call'd a general Assembly, where the Oath of Fealty to the Empress was renew'd, after which she went back to her Husband, who desir'd her Company.

1132. The Year 1132 was remarkable for the Founding of an Episcopal See at *Carlisle*, and the Burning great Part of *London*. As the Houses were mostly built of Wood, this City was frequently subject to the like Accidents.

1133. *Birth of Prince Henry.* The ensuing Year, a new Occasion of Joy quite blotted out the Remembrance of this Misfortune. *Matilda* was brought to Bed of a Prince, nam'd *Henry* after his Grand-father. Immediately after the Birth of this Prince, the King assembled all the Great Men, and made them take their Oath again to the Succession, in which the new-born Prince was included. This was the third time he made them swear: However they kept not their Oath the better for that. *Matilda* had two Sons more, namely, *Geoffrey* and *William*, whom I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

Henry goes into Normandy. Towards the latter End of the Summer, the King went over for the last time to *Normandy*. The Day he embark'd there was an Eclipse of the Sun, and two Days after a great Earthquake; in which Flames of Fire issued out of the Rifts with great violence. Some will have these Accidents to be Presages of the King's Death, which however did not happen till two Years after. *Robert* his elder Brother died before him at the Castle of *Cardiff*, where he had been a Prisoner 26 Years. He was a Prince of great Courage, and for some Time of great Reputation. His easy, careless, and profuse Temper, made him lose twice the Opportunity of acquiring the Crown of *England*, which he had a better Claim to, and

Robert his Brother dies.

and perhaps was more deserving of, than his Brothers. He was Sirnam'd *Courte-boſe*, either because he wore his Breeches very ſhort, or because his Legs were not long enough in proportion to the rest of his Body. Some give him the Sirname of *Courteous*, not having underſtood the meaning of the word *Courte-boſe*; and because that Name was ſuitable to his generous Temper. He was buried at *Gloceſter* in the *Choir* of the Cathedral, where his Tomb is ſtill to be ſeen *.

The Death of *Robert* was quickly follow'd by that of the King his Brother. About the latter End of *August* 1135, he was feiz'd with a violent Illneſs, which carried him off in ſeven days. 'Tis ſaid, he was the Occaſion of it himſelf, by eating to Excess of ſome Lampreys, of which he was a very great Lover. He was then at the Castle of *Lyons* near *Roan*, a Place he much delighted in. When he found he was near his End, he ſent for the Earl of *Gloceſter* his natural Son, and earnestly recommended to him the Concerns of the Emprefs his Sister, without ſaying a word of the Earl of *Anjou*, his Son-in-Law, with whom he was diſpleas'd. After this, he made his *Will*, wherein he left to his Domeſticks above六十 thousand Pounds Sterling. He order'd his Debts to be punctually paid, and all Arrears due to him to be remitted. He died on the ſecond of *September*, in the 68th Year of his Age, and the 36th of his Reign. His Body was cut in Pieces in order to be embalm'd **, after the rude manner of thoſe Days, because he was to be buried in *England*, in the Abbey of *Reading*.

1135.
The Death
of Hen-
ry I.

We find in this Prince a great mixture of good and *His Cha-
bad Qualities.* He was very courageous, and of a great *rafter*.

* He lies in the middle of the Choir, in a wooden Monument. Huntington ſays, he died for Grief for being forc'd to wear a caft-off Coat of the King his Brother's.

** *Gervafe of Canterbury*, gives us the barbarous manner of embalming the King's Body. They cut great Gash-es in his Flesh with Knives, and then powdering it well with Salt, they wrap'd it up in tann'd Ox-hides to avoid the ſtench, which was ſo infectious, that a Man who was hir'd to open his Head, died preſently after.

Capacity, both in *Military* and *Civil Affairs*. His Prudence in the Administration of his Government appear'd chiefly in that, during his frequent Journeys to *Normandy*, there never was any Insurrection in *England*, tho' there was no want of Malecontents. He was exceeding regular in his Diet. Never was he known to be guilty of any Excess in Eating or Drinking, except that one Time, when it cost him his Life. He was inexorable to all Malefactors, being perswaded that Severity was absolutely necessary to curb the Licentiousness introduc'd in the late Reign. His Education had been of a quite different Nature from that of *William Rufus*: Whereas this last had no *Learning* at all, *Henry* had been brought up to *Letters*, and had made great Progress in his *Studies*. Hence he was call'd *Beau-clerc*, that is, the *Scholar*, because in those Days, none but *Ecclesiasticks* troubled themselves about Books, and Princes least of all others. He retain'd all his Life long a relish for the *Sciences*, which he had imbib'd in his Youth. He had even built a Palace at *Oxford*, where he often retir'd to divert himself with the Conversation of the *Learned*. His handsome Face, his sweet and serene Looks, his free and open Countenance, his affable Manner and agreeable Conversation, preposseſſ'd at first sight all the World in his Favour. All these fine Qualities wou'd have gain'd him the Name of an accomplish'd Prince, had they not been ſullied with many Faults, among which Cruelty, Avarice, and an inordinate love of Women, were the moſt predominant. The first appear'd from his barbarous usage of his elder Brother. The second from his exorbitant and too frequent Taxes on the People. The third, from the great number of Bastards he had by ſeveral Mistresses. I ſhall not ſtay to remark here his usurping the Crown, because it may be objected that *Robert's* Claim was not incontestable, by reaſon of the Diverſity of Opinions in that Matter. But for the Injustice he did his Brother, in depriving him of his Dominions and detaining him Prisoner 26 Years, I think nothing can be alledg'd in his Behalf. In order to make amends in ſome measure for his Miſdemeanours,

demeanours, he founded the Episcopal Sees of *Ely* and *Carlisle*, and the Abbeys of *Reading*, *Hyde*, *Chester*, with the Priory of *Dunstable* *. This was the Method of attoning for Offences, much in vogue in those Days, the which being easily practicable by the Rich and Powerful, has been all along and still is kept on Foot. The Charter this Prince granted the Nation upon his Accession to the Crown, is one of the most remarkable Particulars of his Reign, during which *England* enjoy'd a prodigious Plenty of all Things. For a Shilling one might buy as much Corn as wou'd serve 100 Men a Day; and for a Groat, which was also the Price of a Sheep, as much Hay and Oats as 20 Horses cou'd eat at the same Time. 'Tis true indeed, Money was then much scarcer than at Present.

Henry left only one legitimate Daughter, namely, the Empress *Matilda*, and twelve natural Sons. Among whom, *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, made the greatest Figure, as well on account of his Personal Merit, as for his steady Adherence to the Empress his Sister, as we shall see in the following Reign. His Issue.

* Among his other Buildings was a magnificent Palace at *Woodstock*, to which he adjoin'd a large Park, inclos'd with a Stone Wall, which is affirm'd to be the first Park in *England*. Tho' there were afterwards so great a Number, that there were computed more in this Kingdom than in all the Christian World besides.





S E C T. IV.

4. *The Reign of King STEPHEN.*

^{1135.}
S T E -
P H E N.



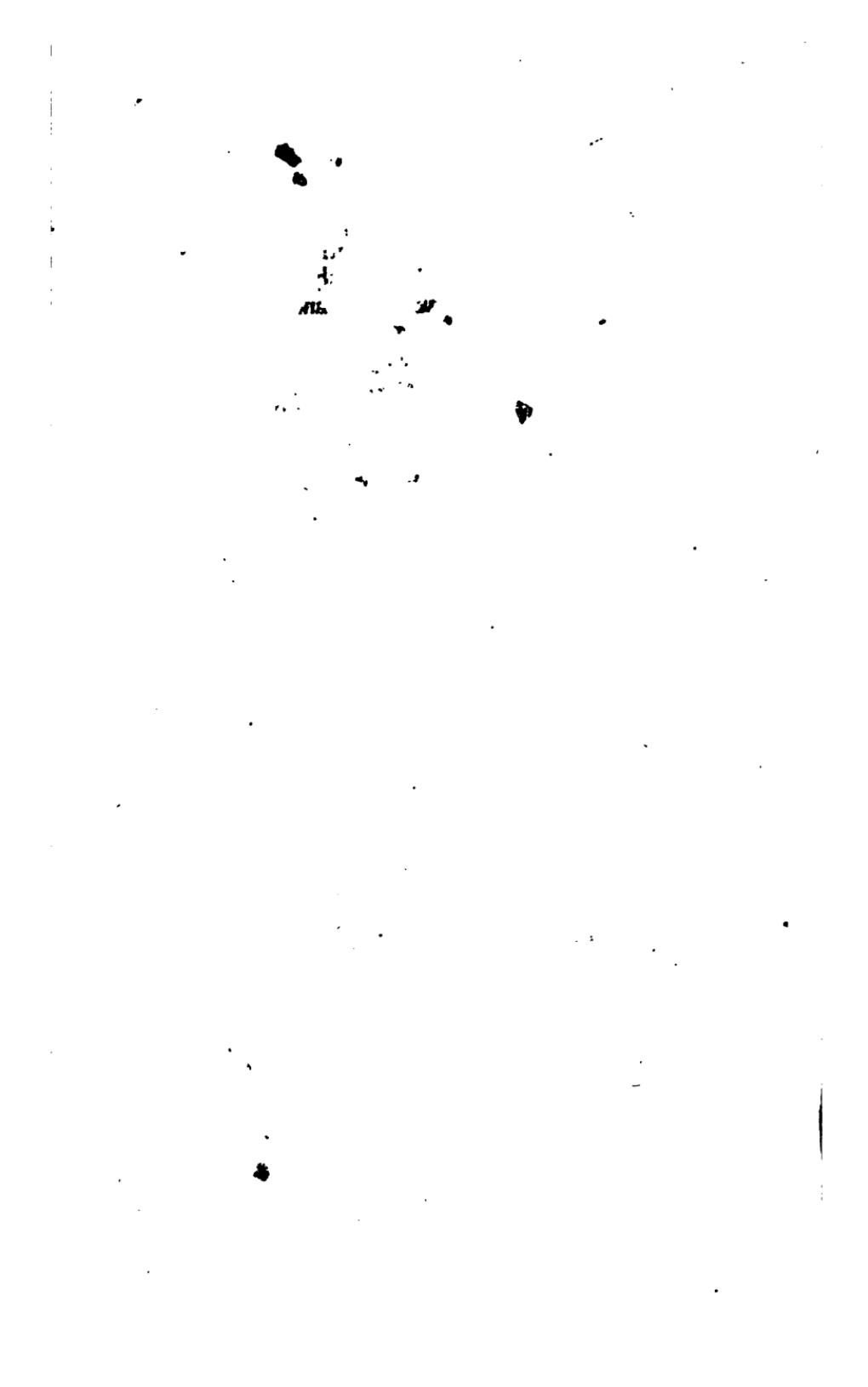
ENRY imagin'd he had taken such just Measures to secure the Succession to the Empress his Daughter, that he cou'd not believe 'twas possible for them to fail. The triple Oath, by which he had bound the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, seem'd to him a sufficient Bar to their Ambition. At least, he cou'd not think, that altho' some one of them shou'd have so little Conscience as to break thro' such solemn Engagement, the others wou'd never be brought to favour his Designs. And yet this Tie which appear'd so strong cou'd not hinder Those, whom he mistrusted the least, from contriving, even before his Death, how to render all his Precautions of no Effect. We may have observ'd, in the three foregoing Reigns, with what Partiality *Riches, Honors, and Places*, were bestow'd upon Foreigners, particularly upon Those that were any way related to the Royal Family. The three last Kings, by shutting out the *English* from their Favours in order to lavish them on the *Normans*, were in hopes of being able by that means to secure the

Crown

faceing p. 382. Vol. 2.



Vertue Sc.



Crown to their Family. But it fell out on the contrary, that by heaping Estates and Honors on their Relations, instead of gaining their Children so many Friends, they created them so many Rivals. By strengthening the Party of the Foreigners against the *English*, they unwittingly fomented the Ambition of this former, and put it out of the Power of the latter to support the Royal Family, when it stood most in need of Protection.

Among those that had shar'd the late King's Favours, *Stephen Earl of Bulloign* his Nephew, was the most considerable. *Adala* his Mother, Daughter to *William the Conqueror*, had brought the Earl of *Blois* her Husband, four Sons, of whom *Theobald*, who was the second, succeeded his Father, the eldest being incapacitated by some natural Defects. *Stephen* the third Son, was sent into *England*, to the King his Uncle. *Henry* the youngest, was a Monk in the Monastery of *Clugni*. The good Qualities of *Stephen* quickly got him the Esteem and Affection of the King, who took a pleasure in making him Rich and Powerful. He thought he cou'd not do better than to put it in the Power of his Nephews to support his Family. With this view he conferr'd on *Stephen* the Lands that were taken from the Earl of *Mortaign*, and having sent for *Henry* from the Monastery of *Clugni*, made him Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and some time after, Bishop of *Winchester*. The King's Favours having gain'd the two Brothers great Credit and Interest in *England*, they form'd so strong a Party, that they thought it in their Power to take the Advantage of the Disaster that happen'd in the Royal Family by the Death of Prince *William*. 'Tis true, that when the late King was desirous of securing the Crown to *Matilda*, *Stephen* was the first that swore Allegiance to Her. But besides that he cou'd not be dispens'd with in that matter, 'twas no proper Season to make known his Designs. Perhaps he hop'd the King out of his Affection for him, might give him his Daughter. But however this be, his hopes, if it be true that he had entertain'd any, being vanish'd by *Matilda's* Marriage with the Earl of *Anjou*, he turn'd his Thoughts

*Stephen,
Nephew to
Henry,
aspire to
the Crown
in his Uncle's Life-
Time.*

1135.

to the bringing about his Project. By the means of secret Emissaries, he fomented the Disgust this Match had given the Nobility, and made sure beforehand of the Assistance of those, who were best able to place him on the Throne, after the King's Death. He acted however with so much Circumspection, that his Uncle never once suspected his Intentions. On the contrary, a little before his Death, he gave him a fresh Mark of his Affection, by marrying him to *Matilda*, only Daughter and Heir to the Earl of *Bulloign*, by which means he became more Powerful and in greater Credit than ever.

*The first
Rise of
Roger
Earl of
Salisbury.*

As the King's last Sicknes appear'd at first very dangerous, *Stephen*, who had attended him into *Normandy*, sent notice of it to the Bishop of *Winchester* his Brother, that he might take Care to renew his Intrigues to procure him the Crown. This Prelate had already brought over the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and *Roger* Bishop of *Salisbury* to his Party, who had both a great Influence over the Clergy. The last was the wealthiest Subject in *England*, having had an Opportunity of amassing vast Riches in the Administration of Affairs Ecclesiastical and Civil, which the late King had entirely entrusted him with. The occasion of his Rise was something particular. Whilst he was only *Curate* of a Parish in *Normandy*, *Henry*, who had then no Prospect of one Day mounting the Throne, happen'd to come into the Church, where he was *saying Mass*. The great Care, wherewith the Priest perform'd the Service, pleas'd the King so, that he desir'd to have him for his Chaplain. *Roger* did not want much Intreaty to accept of an Honour, he so little expected. Tho' he had but little of the *Scholar* in him, he was naturally of so pliable a Disposition, and so much a *Courtier*, that he quickly gain'd the good Graces of his Patron, who loaded him with Favours. As soon as he came to the Crown, his first Care was to prefer his Chaplain, by promoting him to the *See of Salisbury*. But not stopping there, he committed to him afterwards the Management of all important Affairs in *Church and State*, and made him *Prime Minister*. This High Post furnish'd

the

the Bishop with an Opportunity of heaping up immense Riches, which he expended not so much in Acts of Charity, as in building stately Palaces, and in keeping as splendid an Equipage almost as the King himself.

'Twas a great Advantage to *Stephen* to have on his side three Prelates, whose Interest secur'd him the Suffrages of all the Clergy. This Body was then so powerful, that such of the Lay-Lords as were not in his Party did not think themselves in a Condition to oppose the Design which they saw was going forward, of placing *Stephen* on the Throne, since all the Bishops declar'd in his Favour. Not one attempted to speak in *Matilda's* behalf; so great an influence had the Example and Authority of the Clergy over the Minds of the Nobles and People. In the mean time, *Henry* being dead in *Normandy*, *Stephen* forthwith repair'd into *England* to back his Pretensions with his Presence. Supported as he was, he found no great Difficulty to carry the Prize from an absent Prince, whose capricious and haughty Temper had already rais'd a great Prejudice against her. If the Nobility had really that Attachment for Religion, which they affected to make a show of, their repeated Oaths to *Matilda* wou'd have been an insuperable Obstacle to *Stephen's* Election. But they were as well skill'd then, as at this Day, in the Art of evading the most solemn Oaths by *Distinctions* and *Mental Reservations*, which render the use of an Oath of no Effect. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* affirm'd, that the Oath they had bound themselves by to *Matilda* was null and void, as being directly contrary to the Customs of the *English*, who had never suffer'd a Woman to reign over them. The Bishop of *Salisbury* maintain'd, that they were discharg'd from their Oath, because *Matilda* was married out of the Realm, without the Consent of the Barons, whose Intent was, when they swore Fealty, not to have a King who was not of the Race of *William the Conqueror*. In fine, entirely to remove all Scruples, *Hugh Bigod*, who had been *High Steward* to the late King, swore on the Holy Evangelists, that before he died, *Henry* had disinherited

*The Clergy
declare for
Stephen.*

1135.

*He is
crown'd.*

Matilda, and nominated his Nephew *Stephen* for his Successor. This was enough to colour over the Disloyalty of the Barons. On these weak Grounds they proceeded to reject *Matilda's* Right, which they had thrice sworn to maintain, and to crown *Stephen* the 26th of December, 24 days after *Henry's* Death. Thus this Prince saw herself depriv'd of the Crown, by the means of those whom the King her Father thought the most firmly engag'd to stand by her. So true it is, that the Precautions, suggested by *Human Prudence*, are very little to be depended upon.

*He makes
large Pro-
mises to
the Ba-
rons.*

Stephen was then one and thirty Years Old, and in great Esteem with the Nobility. But his Age and fine Qualities made his Right not one Jot the better. His Title was so weak, that to get the Barons to support it, he was forc'd to promise them more Privileges under his Government, than they had enjoy'd in the Reigns of the *Norman* Kings his Predecessors, and without doubt, more than he ever design'd to grant. This was the sole Motive of their proceeding with that Eagerness to his Election. They imagin'd, that his being indebted to them for the Crown, wou'd always dispose him to shew them Marks of his Gratitude. But they cou'd not expect any such Thing from *Matilda*, who having a clearer Title, wou'd not look upon herself as oblig'd to them on that score. *Stephen* therefore, willing to do any thing for the obtaining a Crown, which might justly be disputed with him, had engag'd to reform whatever had been amiss in the three foregoing Reigns, and the Bishop of *Winchester* his Brother, had pass'd his Word for him. This Juncture was too favourable for the Barons of the Realm to let it slip without taking the Advantage of it. When they came to give the new King his Oath, they requir'd a great deal more of him than of his Predecessors.

*He takes
an unusual
Oath.*

The Import of his Oath was, *That he wou'd, within such a Time, fill up the vacant Bishopricks, and leave the Temporalities in the Hands of some Ecclesiastick, who was to take Charge of them till the Vacancy was fill'd. That he wou'd not seize the Woods of any Clerk or Layman, upon frivolous*

frivolous Pretences as his Predecessors had done; but wou'd be content with the Forests, which had belong'd to the two Williams, and wou'd make Restitution of such as Henry had usurp'd. Lastly, that he wou'd abolish Dane-gelt, which was insupportable to the Nation, and having been taken away by King Edward, was restor'd by the Norman Kings. The Bishops, on their Part, took an Oath which was no less uncommon, seeing they swore Allegiance no longer than he shou'd continue to maintain the Church in her Privileges. The Lay-Lords acted with the same Caution, if we may judge by the Oath of the Earl of Gloucester, natural Son to the late King. He swore Fealty to the King, but on Condition he wou'd preserve his Estates and Honours entire, and observe the Covenants made with the Barons. *Stephen* promis'd to do all they requir'd of him, and moreover to grant an Authentick Charter for the Security of the Liberties of the Nation and the Privileges of the Church.

The Coronation being over, the new King posted to *Winchester*, to take possession of the Treasure *Henry* had laid up there, the which amounted to a hundred thousand Marks, besides Plate and Jewels. With this Money he levied an Army of *Bretaigns, Picards, Flemings*, and other Foreigners, whose Assistance he thought he might stand in need of, he not having as yet any great Confidence in his own Subjects. At his Return from *Winchester*, he went to meet the Corps of the late King, which was bringing from *Normandy*, in order to be interr'd at *Reading*, according to his own Directions.

Hitherto *Stephen* had met with no Opposition. But he plainly foresaw 'twou'd not be long first before he shou'd. 'Twas very likely, *Matilda* and *Geoffrey* her Husband wou'd not fail to attempt the Recovery of a Crown he had taken from them. It was requisite therefore to endeavour to gain the Good-will of the People; and the most proper Means to that End, was to make appear, he really intended to perform his Promises. With this view he conven'd a General Assembly at *Oxford*, where he sign'd the *Charter* he had promis'd to grant;

*The Oath
of the Bi-
shops and
Barons*

*Stephen
seizes the
late King's
Treasures.*

1136.

Malm.

*The King
seizes the
Revenues
of the See
of Canterbury.
Hunt.
Paris.
Malm.*

the chief Articles of which were as follow: In the first Place, “ he acknowledges his being elected King, by the Assent of the Clergy and People. He confirms all the Liberties, Privileges and Immunities of the Church, and consents that all Ecclesiastical Causes and Persons shall be tried by the Clergy. He promises not to meddle in any manner with the Temporalities of vacant Bishopricks, or Estates belonging to the Ecclesiasticks. He abolishes all the Game-Laws enacted since the *Conquest*, and all the Forest-Laws. Lastly, to gain entirely the Affections of the *English*, he revives the antient *Saxon Laws*. ” This *Charter* was very advantageous for the People, if it had been punctually observ’d. But as an Historian remarks, just as the *English* had elected *Stephen* purely for their own Interest, so this Prince granted all they requir’d, rather to amuse them, than to bind himself with Fetters of Parchment. The Truth of this Remark is visible from the Behaviour of the King a few Months after. The Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* becoming vacant by the Death of *Corbet*, the King seiz’d upon the Revenues, and kept them in his Hands above two Years. Neither did he rest there. As the Archbishop died intestate, he seiz’d upon his Effects, pretending it was his Prerogative so to do. ’Tis true he only follow’d the Example of the three former Kings. But supposing he was posseſ’d of that Right, he had promis’d so positively to give it up, that his Proceeding cou’d not be look’d upon but as an express Breach of his *Charter* and Oath.

The Beginning of this Reign was peaceable enough: But the Tranquillity lasted not long. His Subjects, grown Insolent, set too high a value on the Service they had done the King. There were even some, who having been constrain’d to follow the Multitude, were waiting for an Opportunity to wipe off the Stain the Nation had contracted by the Breach of thir Oath. The King, who very well knew how matters stood, did all he cou’d to secure the Affections of the People, whose Assistance, he foresaw, he shou’d soon want. With this view it

was

1136.

was that he conferr'd *Titles* and *Honours* on several Persons, and alienated abundance of the Crown-lands, to such as might be serviceable to him. In the mean time, his Bounty had not the Effect he propos'd to himself. Those that partook of his Favours, look'd upon them as their due Reward; whilst others that were neglected, grew disgusted at it, which in the end prov'd very fatal to him. But his greatest oversight was the suffering the Barons to fortify their Castles, by which means he put it in their Power to revolt whenever they pleas'd. In a little Time, there were above a thousand fortified Castles in divers Parts of the Kingdom.

The Insolence of *Baldwin de Redvers*, Earl of *Devonshire*, quickly made *Stephen* sensible of his Error in that Particular. The Earl taking it as an Affront, that the King shou'd deny him some Favour he had ask'd, boldly declar'd he wou'd obey him no longer. Pursuant to this Resolution, he fortified his Castle at *Exeter*, where he acted as Sovereign, exercising a tyrannical Power over All that were under him. This Revolt was so much the more dangerous, as the *Welsh*, at the same Time, made an Irruption into the Frontiers, from whence they carried off a great Booty. The King, judging *Baldwin's* Affair to be of greater Consequence than the Inroads of the *Welsh*, went and laid Siege to *Exeter*, which took him up a considerable Time. At length becoming Master of the Place, he pursued the Rebel to the *Isle of Wight*, and compelling him to fly from thence, banish'd him the Realm; but pardon'd all the rest, that had a hand in the Revolt. This Act of Grace prov'd very prejudicial to him, as it serv'd to render the discontented Party the more bold and daring.

The *Welsh* War ended not so successfully. In a Battle *The English* fought near *Cardigan*, the King's Troops were so roughly glish de-handled, that very few escap'd. 'Tis said the *English* feated by the *Welsh*. Soldiers were struck with such a pannick Fear, that they suffer'd themselves to be taken Prisoners by the very Women.

1137.
Earl of
Devon-
shire re-
volts.Incursion
of the
Welsh.The Earl
banish'd.

Whilst

1137.
The King
of Scot-
land in-
vades the
North.

Whilst these Things were transacting in *Wales*, *Daniel King of Scotland* made an Incursion into the Northern *Counties of England*, under the Pretence of revenging the Wrong done to the Empress his Niece. He immediately became Master of *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, and pushing on his Conquests, he advanc'd as far as *Durham*. As soon as *Stephen* cou'd clear his Hands of the *Welsh*, he march'd into the *North* to repel the King of *Scotland*. The Particulars of this War, of little Moment in themselves, are variously related by the Historians of the two Nations, who agree in nothing but the Conclusion of it. They unanimously tell us, it ended in a Treaty of Peace, whereby the King of *Scotland* was to have *Carlisle*, and Prince *Henry* his Son the Earldom of *Huntington*, for which he did Homage to the King of *England*. The reason of the Son's being invested, was, because the Father refused to accept it on that Condition, alledging he had sworn to acknowledge no other Sovereign in *England* but *Matilda* in case King *Henry* died without Issue-Male.

*The King
taken ill :
the Conse-
quences of
it.*

Stephen was no sooner returned from his Northern Expedition, but he fell into a Lethargy, which every one thought wou'd quickly carry him off. They were so posseſ'd with this Notion, that it caus'd, in *England* as well as in *Normandy* such Troubles as were not easily allay'd. The King's Friends were dishearten'd, and *Matilda*'s Party gain'd Ground considerably by the Rumour that was spread of the King's having resigned his last Breath. On the other Hand, the *Welsh* looking upon this as a favourable Juncture, revived the War, whilst in the meantime the Earl of *Anjou* entered *Normandy*, in order to take Possession of that Part of the King his Father-in-law's Inheritance. But, for what Reason I know not, this Prince was become so odious to the *Normans*, that on purpose to avoid being under Him, they call'd in *Theobald Earl of Blois*, *Stephen*'s elder Brother. *Theobald*, taking them whilst they were in this Mind, came to *Lisieux*, where the Earl of *Glocester* deliver'd him the Keys of *Falaise*. This ~~Earl~~ rememb'reng the last Commands of the King his Father, Behalf of *Matilda*, had with great Reluctancy taken

ken his Oath to *Stephen*. But as 'twas not in his Power to support the Empress's Right alone, he thought it the wisest Course to dissemble the Matter, whilst he waited for a favourable Opportunity to declare in her Favour. He fancied he had got one by introducing the Earl of *Blois* into *Normandy*, imagining that this Prince, who look'd with an Eye of Envy on his Brother's Greatness, wou'd raise such Troubles there, as might turn to *Matilda's* Advantage.

In the mean Time *Stephen* being perfectly recover'd, found his Affairs in the utmost Confusion. The Great Men, who had depended upon the King's dying, were already enter'd into several Factions, from whence he fore-saw, 'twou'd be difficult to disengage them. *Theobald* his Brother, creating him the most Uneasiness, he resolv'd to attack him in the first Place, before he shou'd make an Alliance with the King of *France*, who alone was capable of supporting him. To this End, he went into *Normandy*, carrying with him large Sums of Money, with which he prevail'd upon the chief Men of the Country to abandon the Earl of *Blois*. This Turn ought not to have surpris'd the Earl, since the *Normans* had not call'd him in but on Supposition that *Stephen* was dead or dying, and to avoid being subject to the Earl of *Anjou*.

Stephen recovers, and drives his Brother out of Normandy.

'Twas very lucky for *Stephen*, that the *Normans* had thus diserted the Earl of *Blois*. But to compleat the Matter and cut off all his Hopes entirely, he expended Part of his Money in gaining the *French* King to his Interests. Having succeeded to his Wish, he enter'd into an offensive League with *France*, which put it out of the Power of his Enemies to hurt him. However, as *Lewis* cou'd not without some Uneasiness see *England* and *Normandy* in Possession of the same Person, *Stephen* deliver'd up the Latter to *Eustace* Earl of *Bulloign* his eldest Son, who did Homage to the King of *France* for it. *Theobald* finding he was not strong enough to stand against the two Monarchs, thought best to retire. However, he sent Word to the King his Brother, that altho' he was forc'd to give way, yet he dropp'd not his Pretensions as Eldest, both to

He makes an Alliance with France.

Gives Normandy to his Son, Normandy

1137. *Normandy and England* But his Actions ill agreed with this haughty Message. Quickly after he renounc'd his pretended Right for a Pension of 2000 Marks a Year.

and makes up Matters with his Brother, and with the Earl of Anjou. The Union of the two Kings had the same Effect with regard to the Earl of *Anjou*, whose Claim, as Husband to *Matilda*, was much stronger. 'Tis true, he made some Attempts upon *Normandy*. But after he had tried in vain to gain it by Force of Arms, he was fain to accept of, as a Favour, a Pension of five thousand Marks.

1138. *Matters being thus settled in Normandy, Stephen was in hopes of enjoying some Repose in England, when Intelligence was brought him, that the King of Scotland had made an Irruption into Northumberland.* 'Twas even insinuated that he had reason to fear, he was invited by the *English* Barons to support the Empress's Right; which Insinuation was but too well grounded. Whilst *David* was ravaging the Northern Borders, some *English* Lords had seiz'd upon *Bedford*, and in all Appearance design'd not to stop there. Upon News of this, *Stephen* forthwith pass'd over into *England*; and tho' 'twas in the midst of Winter, he went and laid Siege to *Bedford*, and never quitted it 'till he was Master of the Place. After which, he march'd into *Scotland*, whither *David* had retreated.

A general Revolt in England. Whilst he was taken up in revenging on the *Scots* the Mischiefs they had done the *English*, he was call'd Home by an Insurrection of almost all the Barons. This News surpriz'd him, tho' one wou'd think he shou'd not wonder at the Barons breaking their Oath, since he himself had done the same Thing with regard to *Matilda*.

The Malecontents complain'd, that he had broke his Promises in many Particulars relating as well to the People, as to the Church. But this Pretence was only made Use of as a Cloak for their private Resentments. The true Reason of their Disgust was, their not being rewarded in the Manner they expected. Ever since his Accession to the Crown, they had continually teiz'd him with their Requests, tho' he had endeavour'd one while by Arguments, another while by Promises, and very often by actual Grants, to satisfy the most importunate. But all wou'd not do to secure their

**Chron. of Gervase.
Dunelm.
Malm.**

1138.

their Allegiance; which was wholly grounded upon the Hopes they had All entertain'd of having the same Honors, the same Estates, the same Posts, which was a thing impossible.

At the Head of the Revolters was *Robert Earl of Gloucester*, who had artfully laid hold on this Juncture, to form a Party in favour of the Empress his Sister, strong enough to place her on the Throne. He is said to embark in this Enterprize at the Instances of certain Monks, who represented to him, how much he hazarded his Salvation in beying an Usurper, contrary to the Oath he had sworn to *Matilda*. Hence it is evident, the Monks were deep in the Plot, and that the Earl of Gloucester, in all likelihood, was not the only Person they had made the like Remonstrances to. Some Historians add, that the Earl acted, on this Occasion, out of a Motive of Revenge for the King's having endeavour'd to poison him. But if it be true that *Stephen* had any such Design, in all probability 'twas not till after the Earl had taken up Arms against him. Be this as it will, as soon as *Robert* found he was sufficiently back'd, he went to the Empress and inform'd her of what he had done in her Behalf. After this he wrote an abusive Letter to *Stephen* himself, wherein he upbraided him for the Breach of his Oath to *Matilda*, and charg'd him with having drawn him in to be partaker of the same Crime. To his Letter he added a *Manifesto*, wherein he treated *Stephen* as an Usurper, and declar'd War against him. The King return'd him no Answer, but confiscated all his great Estate in *England*.

In the mean Time *Matilda*'s Party daily growing stronger by the Accession of the most Powerful among the Barons, the Earl of Gloucester came into *England*, and got Possession of *Bristol*. At the same Time other Lords seiz'd upon several Castles that the former Kings had caus'd to be fortify'd for the Security of the Crown, but on this Occasion greatly endanger'd it. *Stephen*, finding himself thus compell'd to wage War with his own Subjects, retook and raz'd several of these Castles. Tho' he had great Reason to be daunted at this so general a Defection, yet he supported himself with his Army of Foreigners, showing, on all Occasions, marks of an extraordinary Courage, and a sted-

*The Earl of Gloucester,
Head of the
Revolters.*

*He writes
an abusive
Letter to
the King,
and pub-
lishes a
Manifesto.*

*He gets
Possession
of Bristol.*

1138.

dy Resolution to lose his Life with his Crown. He cou'd not enough admire, that the very Persons who had shown the most Zeal to place him on the Throne, shou'd be the First to pull him down *. As one is always inclin'd to flatter one's Self, he cou'd not see any Thing in his Conduct, that had deserv'd this Return, and therefore ascrib'd the Revolt wholly to the Caprice and Fickleness of the Barons. Nevertheless their Complaints were not entirely without Grounds. Besides that the King had not punctually kept to his *Charter*, the extraordinary Favours he had bestow'd on Foreigners, particularly on *William of Ipre*, his Favourite, gave his Subjects a plausible Handle enough to complain. The Severity he had us'd upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, in seizing upon the Persons and Estates of some of the Barons on slight Suspitions, added fresh Fuel to the Fire that was already too much kindled. In fine, the Dissentions grew to that Height by mutual Reproaches and Acts of Hostilities daily committed, that the Male-contents sent *Matilda* Word, that they were ready to own her for their Sovereign, according to the Promise they had made to the King her Father.

Matilda invited over.

The King of Scotland breaks the Peace. Hoved. Hunt. Parts.

The King of Scotland fomented these Commotions in behalf of the Empress his Niece, tho' he was also Uncle to *Stephen's Queen* (a). When he found Matters were ripe, he enter'd *Northumberland* once more, and ravag'd in a terrible Manner that County, which generally felt all the Effects of the Quarrels between *England* and *Scotland*. *Stephen* not being able then to leave the Heart of the Kingdom in order to go to the Assistance of the North, *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York* undertook to oppose this Invasion. He call'd together the Barons and Gentlemen of the northern Parts, and represented to them, that in this Emergency,

* Upon the first News of the Barons rising, 'tis reported he shou'd say, *Since they have chosen me their King, why do they now forsake me? By the Birth of God, (his usual Oath) I will never be call'd an abdicated King* Malm p. 102.

(a) *Mary of Scotland*, Sister to the Empress's Mother, married *Eustace Earl of Bulloign*, by whom she had *Matilda*, Wife to *Stephen*.

mergency, they were to depend upon themselves, it not being in the King's Power to send them any Succours. Which Consideration having the Effect he expected, they unanimously engag'd to exert their utmost to repulse the Enemy. Quickly after, each appearing with his Troops at the general Rendezvous, they all rang'd themselves under the Command of *Walter de Speck* and *William of Albemarle*, and advanc'd as far as *Abyerton*. Having resolv'd to expect the Enemy in that Place, they set up a *Mast*, on the Top of which they put *consecrated Hosts*, and some Banners of the *Saints*, that they might rally there in Case of Necessity. Hence this War was call'd *the War of the Standard*. *Aibred Abbot of Rieval* has given a particular Description of the Battle; but as it seems to me of little Moment, I shall only relate the Success. The *Scots*, much superior in Numbers, having attack'd the *English* in their Intrenchments, were repuls'd with the loss of twelve thousand Men. Tho' the King of *Scotland* and *Henry* his Son gave, on this Occasion, surprising Proofs of their Valour, they cou'd not prevent their Army from being entirely routed. 'Tis said that the Archbishop's Harangue to the *English*, wherein he promis'd *Heaven* to all such as were slain in Battle, did not a little contribute to the Success of that Day.

Whilst Matters were carried thus prosperously in the North, *Stephen* spread the Terror of his Arms in the Heart of the Kingdom. The Male-contents not daring to keep the Field, gave him Time to reduce their Castles one after another without Opposition. These Conquests join'd to his Victory over the King of *Scotland*, astonish'd the Earl of *Glocester*. He had been in Hopes the War wou'd have had quite another Issue. But when he saw that his Party daily diminish'd, he had no other Course to take but to go and sollicite the Empress to come into *England*, that she might by her Presence put new Life into her Friends.

The Retreat of the Earl of *Glocester*, and the Flight of some other Lords of his Party, having procur'd the King some Respite, he resolv'd upon pushing on the *Scotch War*,

*The War
of the
Standard.*

*The Scots
are defeat-
ed.*

*Stephen
reduces the
Barons to
Obedience.*

War which had been so successfully begun. With this Design he advanc'd towards the *North*, and in his Way took the Castle of *Leeds*, after which he continu'd his March towards *Scotland*, where *David* had retir'd after his Defeat. His Intent was to give the *Scotch King* Battle. But as *David* was unwilling to run any Hazard in his own Country, he carefully avoided all opportunities of Fighting. However, being apprehensive he might at length be compell'd to it, he resolv'd to sue for Peace. At any other Time, *Stephen* wou'd have made him pay dear for it, but at that Juncture, he did not think proper to stand off. The Truth is, the Advantages he cou'd propose to get by that War were not to be put in the Balance against the Evils his Absence might occasion. And therefore he struck up a Peace with *David*, whereby Prince *Henry of Scotland* was put in possession of the County of *Northumberland*, and Earldom of *Huntington*. In return for these advantageous Articles, *David* bound himself by Oath never to concern himself any more in the Quarrel between *Stephen* and the Empress.

His Affection for the Prince of Scotland, raises the Jealousy of the English Bishops,

The War being thus ended, the King return'd Home, attended by the Prince of *Scotland*, who by his noble and generous Carriage, had so won the Heart of *Stephen*, that he lov'd him no less than if he had been his own Son. The King's Caresses to the young Prince stirr'd up the Jealousy of the Earl of *Chester* and some other Lords who under the Pretence that the King had plac'd him above them at his Table, retir'd from Court. But supposing *Henry's* Birth had not requir'd that Distinction, yet his Merit deserv'd that the King shou'd pay him a very particular Respect, since all Historians unanimously give him the Character of an accomplish'd Prince. *Stephen* continued therefore, notwithstanding the Envy of the *English*, to show him Marks of his Affection, particularly in a Case, which demonstrated him to be sincere. This young Prince, who had accompanied the King to the Siege of *Ladlow*, having approach'd too near the Walls, was like to have been taken from off his Horse by the Means of an Iron Hook at the end of a Rope, if *Stephen* had not, with the Hazard of his

his own Life, ran to his Rescue. An Action which redounded as much to the Honour of the King, as of the Prince, for whom he testified so great an Affection.

This same year, *Alberic*, the Pope's Legate in *England*, conven'd a Synod, wherein *Theobald*, Abbot of *Bec* was elected Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the great Satisfaction of the *English*, who had with Regret beheld the *Metropolitan See* vacant for two Years.

The Peace, *Stephen* had just made with *Scotland*, and the Advantages he had gain'd over his domestick Enemies, procur'd him a Tranquillity which seem'd likely to be of long Continuance. And in all Appearance it wou'd not have been disturb'd, if the false Step he made in falling out with the Clergy, had not hurl'd him down from the Height of his Grandeur and Glory to the most deplorable State a Sovereign cou'd possibly be reduc'd to. The Bishops had been a great Means of his being plac'd on the Throne. From that Time their Power was grown to that Height, that 'twas no less dangerous for the King to make them his Enemies, than it had been beneficial to him to have them his Friends at the Time of his Election. Nevertheless the Jealousy he had entertain'd at their Power, suffer'd him not to consider with his wonted Prudence, what he was going to do, when he took it in his Head to lower their Greatness.

Roger Bishop of *Salisbury* had two Castles as strong as they were stately, one at the *Devizes*, and the other at *Sherburn*, and was building a Third at *Malmesbury*. *Alexander* his Nephew, Bishop of *Lincoln*, had built one at *Newark*, and made no scruple to declare openly, that 'twas design'd as much for the Security as for the Dignity of his *Church*. *Nigel*, Bishop of *Ely*, another of *Roger*'s Nephews, imitating the State of his Uncle and Cousin, affected a Magnificence in his Retinue and House, that stirr'd up the Envy of some, and the Indignation of All. When these three Prelates came to Court, they were attended with so many armed Followers, that it seem'd rather as if they design'd to brave the King, than to pay their Respects to him, This proud and pompous Manner of living having procur'd them abundance of Enemies, there were some that

Theobald
elected
Arch-
bishop of
Canterbu-
ry.

1139.
The King
falls out
with the
Clergy.

Their great
Pride.

The King
grows sus-
picious of
took them.

1139. took an Opportunity of whispering in the King's Ear, that he cou'd not be safe, as long as the Bishops were so powerful. His Suspicions were further confirm'd by the Rumour that was spread of *Matilda*'s being ready to come into *England*, where she had a strong Party. Tho' the Bishop of *Salisbury* had a chief hand in the Election of *Stephen*, yet he fancied he was grown a Favourer of *Matilda*, and in this Belief form'd a Design to humble the Pride of the Bishop and his Nephews. 'Twas not long before an Opportunity offer'd. In a General Assembly held at *Oxford*, the Retainers of the Bishop of *Salisbury* having pick'd a Quarrel with those of *Alan of Bretaign*, Earl of *Richmond*, it fell out that a Knight of the Earl's was kill'd in the Scuffle, and Abundance of People wounded on both Sides. The Bishop's Followers got the Better, having been assist'd by Those of the Bishops of *Ely* and *Lincoln*, and of the *Chancellor*, who pass'd for *Roger*'s Nephew, tho' in Truth he was his Son. The King willing to lay hold on this Opportunity to mortify the whole Family, summon'd them all Four to appear at his Court and answer for this Riot of their Domesticks. This *Summons* was according to Law: But the Satisfaction the King demand'd was not so. He was not content with the Mulct enjoin'd by the Law in the like Cases; but insisted upon the Bishops delivering into his Hands all their Castles, as Pledges for their future Allegiance. These Demands seeming too exorbitant to the Prelates, they desir'd to consider of the Matter. Whilst the King was waiting for their Answer, the Bishop of *Ely* absented himself, and retir'd to *Roger* his Uncle's Castle at the *Devizes*. His going off having prevented the adjusting of Matters, the King went immediately and laid Siege to the Castle, where was also *Matilda*, the Wife or Concubine of the Bishop of *Salisbury*. This Place being very strong, the King who foresaw the Siege wou'd prove a difficult Work, be-thought himself of an Expedient to put an End to it without Loss of Time. He order'd the Bishop of *Sarum* and the *Chancellor* to be lead up close to the Wall, and sent Word to *Matilda*, that unless she forthwith deliver'd up the

*Upon a
Quarrel at
Oxford
the King
summons
them to ap-
pear at his
Court.*

the Castle, the Chancellor shou'd be hang'd up on the Spot ; neither shou'd the Bishop eat or drink till it was surrendered. These Threats having wrought upon her as he expected, she deliver'd up the Castle, wherein he found forty Thousand Marks in ready Money. The Bishop of Lincoln procur'd his Liberty, by surrendring to the King his Castle of *Sleaford*. Shortly after *Stephen* became Master likewise of the Castles of *Salisbury*, *Malmsbury* and *Sherborn*. With the Money he found in these strong Holds, where the Bishops kept their Treasures, he purchas'd the Friendship of the King of France, and enter'd into an Alliance with him. This League was cemented by the Marriage of *Eustace*, the Son of *Stephen*, with *Constantia* Sister to *Lewis the Young*, who had succeeded *Lewis the Fat* his Father.

1139.
He seizes
their Ca-
stles.

Eustace his
Son mar-
ried.

The Severity of the King towards the Bishops mightily disgusted the whole Body of the Clergy, who made loud Complaints. The Archbishop of *Roman*, who was then in *England*, was the only one that was not offended at it. He was perswaded that, without striking at the Immunities of the Church, the King might dispossess the Bishops of their fortified Castles, which had nothing to do with their Privileges as Churchmen. But the Bishop of *Winchester*, who had lately been made Legate for *England*, was not of his Opinion. This Prelate harbour'd in his Breast a secret Disgust against the King his Brother for letting him have no Hand in the Administration of Affairs. He had expected things wou'd be otherwise, when he labour'd so heartily to place him on the Throne. But finding there was no hopes of his having for the future any share in the Government, he eagerly embrac'd this Opportunity of creating him Trouble, under Pretence of standing up for the Rights of the Church. With this View he call'd a Synod at *Winchester*, and summon'd the King to appear and give an Account of his Actions. At the Opening of the Synod, he aggravated, in a very bitter Manner, all that *Stephen* had acted against the three Bishops. He exhorted the Prelates vigorously to maintain the Rights of the Episcopal Dignity, and the Privileges of the Church. After

The Clergy
are dis-
satisfied.

The Bishop
of Win-
chester un-
dersakes
the Cause
of the Cler-
gy, and
cites the
King be-
fore a Sy-
nod.

which

1139.

which, he protested he wou'd put in Execution the Decrees of the Council, tho' it cost him the Friendship of the King, the Loss of his Estate, and even his Life it self. *Stephen* had sent to the Council some Lords, with *Alberic de Vere* a famous Civilian. As soon as the *Legate* had made an End of his Speech, these Lords demanded why the King was summon'd thither. The *Legate* answer'd, 'Twas to give his reasons for having imprison'd the Bishops, and despoil'd them of their Estates: a Crime, added he, hitherto unheard-of in the Christian World. *Alberic*, taking him up, said, that the Prelates had been punish'd not as Bishops, but as the King's *Subjектs* and *Servants*. The Bishop of *Salisbury* not relishing that Distinction, roundly told him, That the Bishops cou'd not, in any Respect, be look'd upon as the King's *Servants*. The Majority of the Synod being much of the same Opinion, the Archbishop of *Roan*, who thought that the *Episcopal* Dignity was no ground for an Independent Power, endeavour'd to set them right as to that Matter. He demanded, Whether they cou'd clearly prove from the *Canons*, that Bishops, as such, ought to have fortified Castles? But, added he, supposing you cou'd make appear, that you may be posseſſ'd of strong Holds without acting contrary to the *Canons* of the Church, yet by what Right can you refuse to deliver them into the Hands of the King at a time when the Kingdom is threaten'd with an Invasion? Is it not the King's Busines to take care of the Safety of the State? And can *Subjектs* refuse to admit him into their Fortresses without incurring the Guilt of Rebellion? These Arguments not having weight enough with the Bishops to make them desist, the *Legate* propos'd to excommunicate the King, and send Deputies to *Rome* to lay their Case before the Pope. Then it was that the Lords sent by the King thought it time to speak a little more freely. They declar'd, that if the *Synod* went about to excommunicate the King, the Bishops wou'd soon have Cause to repent of their Proceedings; and in case any of them took upon them to go to *Rome* on that score, they wou'd find it no easy Matter to return. This Declaration made such an Impression on their Minds, that

Archbi-
shop of Ro-
an pleads
for the
King.

The Le-
gate pro-
poses to ex-
communi-
cate the
King.

that they were unwilling to expose themselves to the King's Resentment, in order to gratify the *Legate*. Accordingly the *Synod* having decreed a Deputation to the King, to demand a suitable Reparation, broke up after having sat but three days. Pursuant to this Resolution, the *Legate* and Archbishop of *Canterbury* went to the King; and earnestly besought him to prevent a Rupture between the Ecclesiastical and Civil Powers. Which was in plain English to require him to make ample Satisfaction to the *Clergy*, otherwise a Rupture was unavoidable: for that was the real Meaning of their Words. One can't conceive on what Grounds the *Clergy* at that time laid claim to an Independent Power, unless it was, because they were grown so powerful that they imagin'd the King cou'd not do without them. Formerly, during the Empire of the *Saxons*, the Bishops thought it an Honour to be rank'd with the *Thanes*, that is, with the King's Servants. After the *Normen Conquest*, *William I.* threw the Bishops into Prison upon bare Suspicion. Some he banish'd, others he deprived of their Bishopricks, without any one's daring to stir, and the People look'd on without concerning themselves in the Matter. But in the Reign of *Stephen*, 'twas an unheard of Crime to dispossess the Bishops of their Fortresses, and an unpardonable Rashness to stile them the King's Servants. For some time past the *Clergy* had establish'd it as a *Maxim*, that the Main of Religion consisted in upholding the *Church* in all the *Privileges* and *Immunities* she her self had laid claim to.

Be this as it will, the People were all in a Combustion upon this Occasion, as if they themselves had been depriv'd of their Rights and Liberties. The whole Kingdom swarm'd in an instant with Male-contents, who only wanted a Leader to head them. In fine, the *Clergy's* Faction was so strong, that the major Part of the Lay-Lords came over to their Side and espous'd their Cause. The Empress looking up on this as a favourable Juncture, resolv'd to lay hold on it and go into *England*, tho' she had not above 140 Men to accompany her. This was a very inconsiderable Troop for the Undertaking she was upon: but she relyed on a

1139.
Depula-
tion to the
King.

1139.

powerful Aid from the Malecontents. She took up her first Quarters at the Castle of *Arundel*, which belong'd to the Queen *Dowager*, being Part of her *Dowry*. The Earl of *Glocester*, who came with his Sister, thinking her safe in a Place where she was receiv'd with all the Respect due to her Rank, left her and went to *Bristol*. In the mean while, *Stephen*, who was besieging *Marlborough*, being inform'd of *Matilda's* Arrival, suddenly broke up the

*Is besieg'd
by the King
in Arun-
del Castle,*

Siege and march'd towards *Arundel*. At the King's Approach the Queen *Dowager* repented of her giving Admittance to *Matilda*, fearing it might Occasion the Loss of her Castle, with all the Privileges she enjoy'd in *England*. On the other Hand, Honour and Honesty wou'd not suffer her to deliver her Guest into the hands of her Enemy. To get herself out of this Perplexity, she sent the King word, that if he persisted in requiring her to deliver up the Empress, she was no less bent on her side to protect her, till some or other came to her Relief. But at the same time she desir'd him to consider, that she had not entertain'd her, as an Enemy to the King, but as his Mother-in-law, Widow to a great Emperor, to whom she cou'd not be off from paying the Respect due to her Quality. That her Intent was not to countenance the Designs she might have against him, but only to prevent any Ill from befalling her whilst she was under her Roof. In fine, she propos'd to the King, that *Matilda* might have Leave to retire to some other Place, where 'twou'd be as easy for him to besiege her as in *Arundel Castle*. That by this Act of Generosity he wou'd lay an Obligation on a Queen, Widow to a great Monarch, his Uncle and Benefactor, without the least Detriment to himself. Whether *Stephen* was sensible that 'twas not in his Power to take the Castle, before it might be reliev'd, or whether he thought himself bound to oblige the Queen so far, he gave his Word, that *Matilda* shou'd be safely conducted to *Bristol*; the which was accordingly done. But he had but too much reason to repent afterwards of his having been so generous. *Matilda* having remain'd at *Bristol* some time, remov'd to *Glocester*. During her stay in these two Cities, she so artfully

*and con-
ducted
safely to
Bristol.*

artfully manag'd the Discontents of the *Clergy* and *Nobility*, that she gain'd them both over to her Side, and by their Means, almost the whole Body of the People. There stuck by the King only a few Barons and his Foreign Army, which tho' ill paid, serv'd him faithfully.

I shall not take upon me to enter into the Particulars of this Civil War, which, like the Rest of that Kind, furnishes more Instances of Treachery and Cruelty, than of glorious Actions. I shall content my self with relating only the principal Events. Whilst it lasted, the whole Kingdom was divided, every City, County, and Person siding with the King or the Emprefs, according as they were led by Passion or Interest. The Lords, nearest in Nighbourhood and Bloed, fell foul of one another in a cruel Manner, burning the Houses, and pillaging the Vassals of one another, so that a terrible Confusion was quickly spread over the Face of the whole Kingdom. In this fatal Anarchy, the Barons, acting as Sovereigns, grievously oppress'd the People, and were so presumptuous as to coin their own Money. On the other Hand, the King and *Matilda* instead of redressing, conniv'd at these Doings, fearing the calling their Friends to an account wou'd make them change Sides. Moreover, the Foreign Soldiers, of whom *Stephen's* Army entirely consisted, occasion'd still further Disorders. As the King was not in a Capacity to pay them duly, he was forc'd to suffer them to plunder the poor People, who, tho' innocent, felt the greatest share of the Calamities of a Civil War.

In the mean time the Bishop of *Winchester*, being at length sensible of his oversight in raising a Storm, which he foresaw wou'd infallibly overwhelm the King his Brother, turn'd about on a sudden. He reflected, that being Brother to *Stephen*, he himself wou'd certainly be involv'd in the same Ruin with him, and consequently 'twas his Interest to stand by him, and not to help forward his Destruction. And therefore, desirous of regaining the King's Confidence by some important Service, he drew to *Winchester* a good Number of Lords, Friends to *Matilda*,

1140.
*A Civil
War.*

*The Bishop
of Win-
chester
comes over
to the King.*

1140. and detain'd them Prisoners, till such time as they deliver'd up their Castles to the King.

Stephen's
undaun-
tedness.

Amidst all his Straits and Difficulties, *Stephen* show'd great Resolution and Firmness of Mind, which did not a little contribute towards keeping stedfast to him a great many, who doubtless wou'd have deserted him had they observ'd the least Faint-heartedness in him. This is the never-failing Consequence, when, on the like Occasions, Princes seem to distrust their Fortune or their Abilities. Far from being daunted at the violent Shocks he receiv'd, *Stephen* daily made fresh Attempts to remedy by his Valour and Prudence the Evils he suffer'd by the Revolt of his Subjects. He even hoped to put an End to them at once, by laying Siege to *Wallingford*, where *Matilda* and the Earl of *Glocester* were shut up. But meeting with more Difficulty than he had imagined, he turn'd the Siege into a Blockade. He was no sooner retir'd but the Earl of *Glocester* got out of the Castle and went and seiz'd *Worcester*, whilst the Barons of his Party ravag'd the Counties of *Chester* and *Nottingham*.

Matilda
retires to
Lincoln,
where she
is besieg'd,
but escapes.
Malm.
Hunt.
Paris.

In the mean time *Matilda*, being too closely pent up in *Wallingford*, found the means to get from thence and retire to *Lincoln*. As soon as the King had Notice of it, he form'd the Design of surprising her, well knowing that *Lincoln*, where he had a great many Friends, cou'd not be defended by the few Troops *Matilda* had with her. He wou'd have taken his Rival in that Place, which held out but a few Days, had she not contriv'd Matters so as to get off, whilst Articles of Capitulation were drawing up. *Stephen*, missing his Aim, retir'd without leaving a Garrison in the Town for fear of weakening his Army. He was hardly gone, before he was inform'd that the Earl of *Chester*, Son-in-law to the Earl of *Glocester*, was come thither with his Wife and Brother in order to keep their *Christmas*. His great Desire of having these three Persons in his Power, made him march back with such speed that the Earl had but just time to retire into the Castle, which was immediately invested. However he found the Means to escape and get to the Earl of *Glocester*, in order

der to desire him to come to the Relief of the Besieg'd, who cou'd not hold out long. The Earl of *Glocester*, willing to succour his own Daughter, drew all his Troops together, and march'd towards *Lincoln* with that Expedition, that he had like to have come upon the King unawares, who never dreamt of his being so near. Having forded the River *Trent*, a thing the King thought impracticable, he came up on a sudden so close to the Royal Army, that neither Side cou'd avoid coming to a Battle. The two Armies being drawn up, the Fight begun, which for a long Time was fought on both sides with equal Bravery. But at length the King's *Horse*, consisting of *Flemings* and *Bretaigns*, giving Ground, they were so vigorously press'd, that they cou'd never rally again. The Earl of *Glocester* taking hold on this Advantage, not to pursue the flying *Horse*, who were incapable of doing him any further Damage, but to fall on the King's *Infantry*, who being destitute of the Assistance of the *Cavalry*, took to their Heels also.

Battle of Lincoln.

The King's Army is roused.

In the mean Time *Stephen*, who cou'd not bear the Thoughts of turning his Back, was left almost alone, and on Foot, in the midst of the Field of Battle, assaulted by Multitudes, but defending himself against all their Efforts with an astonishing Valour. If the *Cavalry* had rallied in the mean while, he might have brought himself off, to his immortal Fame: But finding none to back him, he was forc'd at length to submit, being surrounded on all Sides by the Enemy. However he held out to the last Extremity; for his Battle-ax being broke by the Force of his Blows, he drew out his Sword, and defended himself for a considerable Time longer, foaming with Rage to see himself thus abandon'd by his Army. At length, after he had perform'd more than cou'd naturally be expected from a single Person in the condition he was in, his Sword broken in pieces, and little more than the Hilt remaining in his Hand, he was knock'd down on his Knees with a Stone. Whereupon a Knight call'd *Wiliam de Kains* ran in, and having seiz'd him by the Helmet presented his Sword to his Throat, threatening to kill him unless

Stephen taken Prisoner,

1140. unless he yielded himself Prisoner. Notwithstanding the extreme Danger he was in, he refus'd to surrender himself to any but the Earl of *Glocester*, who by good luck was hard by. As soon as the Earl had him in his Power, he conducted him to the Empress, who order'd him to be confin'd in the Castle of *Bristol*, where he was ignominiously laid in Irons.

1141. Whilst this unfortunate Prince was in this wretched Condition, *Matilda*, improv'd the Advantages she had gain'd by her Arms. All *England* deserted the imprison'd King, except *London* and the County of *Kent*, where he had still some Friends left by the means of the Queen his Spouse, *Eustace* his Son, and *Williams d' Ipres* his Favorite. The Barons that preserv'd their Allegiance, retir'd to *London*, where they had Interest enough to gain Admittance, and to prevail with the Citizens to enter into a Confederacy with them in favour of the King. *Normandy* soon copied after the Example of *England*. No sooner had the Earl of *Anjou* intelligence of the King's Imprisonment, but he went thither to get the *Normans* to own *Matilda* for their Sovereign, which he found no hard Matter to do. At the same Time, the King of *Scotland*, breaking the late Treaty, invaded the Northern Counties, under Pretence of assisting the Empress, but in reality to serve his own Interest.

Earl of Anjou seizes Normandy. Malin. One wou'd think that the Victory at *Lincoln* wou'd have plac'd *Matilda* on the Throne at once. But there was one Obstacle more to get over before she cou'd hope to enjoy the Fruits of her Success; which was, to gain the Bishop of *Winchester* to her Side. This Prelate, who by his *Legantine* Power was at the Head of the Clergy, might possibly set that powerful Body against her, whose Example bore a great sway with the Nobles and People. She deem'd it necessary therefore, to endeavour before all things, the bringing him off from the King's Side; and with this view she went to him at *Winchester*. He made some Difficulty at first to hearken to her Proposals, But upon her offering him the disposal of all the Church-Pre-ferments, he threw up the Cause of the King his Brother, and

The Bishop of Winchester comes over to Matilda.

and promis'd to use his endeavours to gain *Matilda* the Suffrages of the *Clergy*. He even took his Oath to her beforehand. But however with this Limitation, that it shou'd be binding no longer than she kept true to her Promises. On the Morrow he receiv'd her with great Pomp in the *Cathedral Church*, where he solemnly excommunicated all the King's Friends, and absolv'd all such as shou'd abandon his Party and come over to the Empres'. Quickly after the Archbishop of *Canterbury* took his Oath likewise to *Matilda*. But before he did so, he was so scrupulous as to procure the King's Consent, which he went to ask himself of the King in Prison.

There was nothing further wanting to *Matilda* but the *The Legate calls of England*. But tho' she was sure of the Consent of the Temporal Lords, yet she was apprehensive of meeting with some Opposition from the *Clergy*, who in all likelihood, wou'd be more scrupulous on account of the Oath they had taken to the King. The *Legate* having taken upon him to make this Matter easy, call'd a Council at *Winchester*, where all the Bishops and Abbots were present, with the Arch-deacons as Representatives of the Inferior *Clergy*. The Day before the opening of the Synod, the *Legate* took Care to confer in private first with the Bishops, then with the Abbots, and lastly with the Arch-deacons, each of them apart. 'Tis not known what pass'd at these private Conferences, but 'twas plain enough, next day what use the *Legate* was willing to make of them. As soon as the Council was sat, he made a long Speech, wherein he endeavour'd to make appear that the Male-Administration, Dishonesty, and Tyranny of *Stephen*, had been the sole Cause of all the Troubles in the Kingdom. He own'd that indeed he himself had undertaken for his good Government, when the necessity of Affairs had as it were compell'd the *English* to place the Crown on his Head. But that he had been entirely disappointed in his Brother, and was heartily sorry to find himself oblig'd to revoke his Engagement for him. He insisted much on his former Oath to *Matilda*, adding 'twas

1141.

Malm.

'twas reasonable to prefer the Orders of the Almighty; whose Will it was that Justice shou'd be done the Empress, before the Interest of the nearest Relation. He proceeded to put them in mind that he had done all that lay in his Power to make *Stephen* sensible of his ill Conduct, even to the summoning him before a Synod, but that all his Brotherly and kind Admonitions had prov'd ineffectual. That this Obstinacy was a clear Evidence to the English, to what Calamities they wou'd have been expos'd under the Government of such a Prince, if it had not pleas'd Divine Providence to give Sentence against him by suffering him to be imprison'd. In fine, since God's Judgments were now fallen on the Head of the King, whom they had elected, they were to attone for their Fault, by restoring the Crown to the Princess, to whom of Right it belong'd. *I have therefore, continues he, conven'd you, by virtue of the Apostolick Power committed unto me, to consult about the means of appeasing the Troubles of the State. This Affair was debated Yesterday, in the Presence of the Majority of the Clergy, who beyond all Dispute have a principal share in the Election of the Kings. And therefore, after mature Deliberation, we have determin'd to acknowledge Matilda, Daughter to the incomparable King Henry, Queen and Sovereign of England.*

The major part of those that were present, and not in the Secret, were extremely surpris'd at this Speech, and much more to see an Election transacted in private by the Clergy, after an unprecedented manner. Nevertheless, every one remaining silent, some being gain'd over, and others not daring to stir for fear none shou'd back them, their Silence was interpreted for their Approbation. The Legate told them further, that he had summon'd to the Council the Magistrates of London, and that they had promis'd to send their Deputies. Accordingly on the Morrow the Deputies arriv'd. But instead of consenting to what the Council had done, they declar'd, they had Orders from the City and Barons that were retir'd thither, to petition for the King's Liberty. The Legate repli'd, that it became not the Londoners to side with the Barons,

*Deputies
from London in
vain petition the
King's Liberty.*

Book VI. 4. S T E P H E N.

Barons, who had in a cowardly manner deserted their King in Battle, and were endeavouring to embroil the Kingdom in fresh Troubles. This Answer, so far from the Point, not being satisfactory to the Deputies, they demanded a more direct one; but in vain. The Legate did not think fit to re-examine a Thing, which he pretended was already decided. Before the rising of the *Synod* As d. 11. 1158
Queen. a Chaplain to Stephen's Queen, offer'd to the Council a Letter, which he deliver'd to the Legate. But because the Prelate, after he had read it to himself, wou'd not communicate it to the Assembly, the Chaplain bluntly took it out of his Hand, and read it aloud. This Letter, wherein the Queen earnestly besought them to set the King at Liberty, proving of no Effect, the Council broke up, after having excommunicated all that still adher'd to Stephen.

This Affair being thus ended, the Empress had nothing to do but to gain the Consent of the *Londoners*, in London declares
for Matilda
da. order to her Coronation. To this Purpose she was oblig'd to enter into a Negotiation with the City, which lasted some time. In the interim, *Matilda* advanc'd as *Malm.* *Gervas.* far as *Reading*, where the Governour of *Oxford* came and offer'd her the Keys of his Castle, humbly entreating her to honour that City with her Presence. She readily complied with his request, and after the Inhabitants of *Oxford*, and the Country round about had sworn Allegiance to her, she remov'd to *St. Albans*, where she waited for the Resolution of the *Londoners*. The City was then overrun with Troubles and Confusion. Some were for continuing stedfast to the King, altho' a Prisoner: Others for giving way to the Times, and recognizing *Matilda*. These last having prevail'd at length, the Empress came to *London*, where she was magnificently receiv'd amidst the vast number of Barons that attended her. The City of *London* having thus declar'd for *Matilda*, she met with no farther Opposition; and from that Time they began to prepare for the Ceremony of her Coronation. In the mean while she was every where acknowledg'd as Sovereign.

During this Interval, King *Stephen's* Queen came to the Empress in order to try to prevail upon her for some treats the
Queen with
Condescen-

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Condescension towards her Husband. As she had lost all Hopes of ever seeing him on the Throne again, she desir'd nothing more than his Liberty. She promis'd, in the name of that unhappy Prince, that content with becoming a private Man, he wou'd renounce the Crown, and to remove all Suspicion, wou'd depart out of the Kingdom, and pass the Residue of his Days in a Monastery. He even offer'd to take his Oath never to return more, and to give Hostages for the Performance of his Promises. But such was the Iniquity of those Times, that there was no Reliance on Words or Oaths, there having been so many fresh Instances, how little scrupulous People were in breaking them. Accordingly *Matilda* rejected all these Proposals with great Haughtiness, forbidding the unfortunate Queen ever coming into her Presence again.

Matilda
falls out
with the
Bishop of
Winches-
ter,

The Bishop of *Winchester* became also a Suppliant to her in his Turn; but he had as little reason to be satisfied with her Generosity as the Queen. He imagin'd that the Service he had lately done her highly deserv'd some Return. Accordingly he petition'd for *Entrace* his Nephew some Favour, which was haughtily refus'd him. This was sufficient to stir up the Bishop to a Revenge. He had been in hopes that the new Queen wou'd be guided by his Direction: But he plainly saw, she look'd upon him as her Enemy. His turbulent and revengeful Temper never letting him rest under these Circumstances, he began, from that Instant, to plot and contrive against *Matilda*, longing with Impatience to convince the ungrateful Princess that it was no less in his Power to pull her down, than it was to set her up. But perhaps he wou'd have found it a difficult Task to bring about his Designs, if the Empress her self had not furnish'd him with the Means, by her extreme Pride, which made her regard her Subjects but as so many Slaves. A fatal Piece of Policy, which procur'd her Abundance of Enemies, at a Time when 'twas her Busines, on the contrary, to try to gain the *English* by mild and popular Methods. She drew upon herself chiefly the Hatred of the *Londoners*, by refusing to grant the only Thing, they petition'd, and which the King

and like-
wife with
the Lon-
doners;

King her Father had positively promis'd them, namely, to mitigate the Severity of the *Norman Laws*, and revive Tho'le of King *Edward*. This ill-advis'd Princeſſe imagin'd herſelf ſo far above all Contradiction, that ſhe forbore not to tread in the Steps of her Predeceſſors, giving her Subjects all the fair Promiſes in the World, at leaſt till ſuch time as ſhe was more firmly eſtabliſh'd in Power. Her haughty Carriage quickly wrought a great Change in the Minds of the *Engliſh*. They began to be ſenſible what a Risk they ran of being unhappy under her Government, unleſs timely care was taken to prevent the impendiſg Evils. The Bishop of *Wincheſter* fomented, to the utmoſt of his Power, theſe Discontents, and by his ſecret Emiſſaries at *London*, ſtirr'd up the Citizens to revenge the Contempt, *Matilda* had shown for them. His Contriſances were carried ſo far, that he got them to join in a Plot to ſeize the Emprefſe's Person. What Care foever might be taken to conceal their Design, ſhe had timely Notice of it, and went from the City in ſo great a Hurry and Fright, that ſhe left her Palace and Goods expoſ'd to the Fury of the Populace. Tho' the Legate had miſſ'd his Aim, yet he thought, that he had not a little forwarded the Execution of his Project, ſeeing he had brought the *Londoners* to declare againſt *Matilda*. Secure of their Aſſiſtance, he pri- vately concerted Meaſure, with the Queen, his Sister-in- law. After which he ſent Word to *Euface* to be in a readiness to march with the *Kentijſh-men*, promising him, he ſhou'd ſoon be at the Head of a more-considerable Army. Having thus laid his Schemes, and ſecrely gain'd over to the King's Party ſeveral Lords that were diſgulfed at the Emprefſe, he order'd the Castle of *Wincheſter* and ſome others that were at his Dispoſal, to be well stor'd with Proviſions and Arms.

As all thoſe Things cou'd not be tranſacted without *Matilda*'s Knowledge, ſhe put herſelf at the Head of her Troops, attended by the Earl of *Gloceſter* and the King of *Scotland*, who was come into *England* to be preſent at the Coronation. As ſoon as ſhe came near *Wincheſter*, ſhe ſent the Bishop word, that ſhe had ſome thing to com- muniſcate

*who lay a
Plot to
ſeize her
Person.*

*tries in
vain to
ſeize the
Legate.*

1141.

municate to him, and therefore desir'd he wou'd come to her. The Prelate greatly mistrusting she had been inform'd of his Proceedings, easily perceiv'd that this was only an Artifice to ensnare him. Accordingly, instead of going to her, he sent her an ambiguous Answer. At the same Time, he slipt out of the Town at a Gate on the other Side, and went and drew his Friends together, who only waited his Orders to put themselves in Motion. As All Things were in a Readiness, they were quickly up in Arms. The Kentish-men having join'd the Londoners, Stephen's Queen, Eustace his Son, and William d' Ipre headed them, and march'd to *Winchester* with the utmost Speed. They had like to have surpriz'd the Empress, who had scarce Time to get into the Castle. As the Inhabitants of *Winchester* had appear'd a little too zealous in her Cause, the Bishop out of Revenge set fire to the City, tho' 'twas the Capital of his Diocese. Twenty Churches were burnt to Ashes, with a *Nunnery*, which bore the Name of St. *Grimbald*.

Burns
Winches-
ter.Matilda
besieged in
the Castle.Marches
out with
her Troops,
and is pur-
sued.

The Care the Bishop had taken to store the Castle with all Sorts of Ammunition, render'd the Siege very long and difficult. The Besiegers applied themselves closely to it, for two Months, in hopes of putting an End to the War at once, by taking the Heads of the contrary Party. The same Reason oblig'd the Besieged to think of their Safety. When they found there was no Possibility of holding out much longer, they resolv'd upon hewing themselves a Passage with their Swords, and running all Risks to secure the Empress's Person. With this View they issud out in good Order, *Matilda* and the King of *Scotland* marching in the Front, and the Earl of *Glocester* bringing up the Rear. They were no sooner fallid out, but the King's Troops were close at their Heels, endeavouring by frequent Attacks to retard their March, whilst the Rest of the Army were advancing to surround them. In all these little Skirmishes, the Earl of *Glocester* vigorously oppos'd the Enemy, and gave signal Marks of his Conduct and Valour. But his Efforts, which indeed were very serviceable to *Matilda*, as they gave her time to get

get off, prov'd fatal to himself. As the Empress's Danger made him neglect his own Safety, he wou'd march the last thro' a narrow Defile, where his Troops being hard press'd by the Enemy, he had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner. *William d' Ipre*, to whose Charge he was committed, order'd him to be forthwith conducted to *Rochester in Kent*, where the King had more Friends than in any other Part of the Kingdom.

1141.
Earl of
Glocester
taken Pri-
soner.

In the mean Time, *Mauda* making all the Speed possible, escap'd with a few Followers to the Castle of *Lutgernsbull*, and from thence to the *Devizes*. Here it was she repos'd her self a little, thinking she had time enough to get to *Glocester*. But when she came to pursue her Journey, she had Intelligence that the Road was lin'd with the King's Soldiers. If we may believe a Historian, much given to the *Marvellous*, she escap'd their Vigilance, by being carried to *Glocester* in a Coffin, which it never enter'd into any one's Head to search. Be this as it will, 'tis certain she found the means to avoid this Danger.

Whilst the Empress was taken up in contriving the Means how to resist her Enemies, the Bishop of *Winchester* and the Rest of the King's Friends were using their utmost Endeavours to bring off the Earl of *Glocester* from his Sister's Party. But all their Sollicitations, and the Consideration of the State he was in, cou'd make no Impression upon him. He firmly persisted in the Allegiance he had sworn to her, and wou'd not so much as use any Dissimulation in the Matter, which might have gain'd him his Liberty. In fine, after six Months Imprisonment, *Mauda*, who had a tender Affection for him, and that very justly, and besides cou'd not well do without him, consented he shou'd be exchang'd for the King. In vain were endeavours us'd on this Occasion to bring Matters to an Accommodation between *Stephen* and the Empress. As the thing they both laid Claim to, was of such a Nature as not to admit of Division, there was no Possibility of striking up a Peace. The Exchange of Prisoners therefore was all that cou'd be done, each Party being left at Liberty to pursue the War.

The King is
exchang'd
for the Earl
of Glocest-
er.

1141.
The Pope
writes to
the Legate
in favour
of the King.
Malm.

Synod at
Westmin-
ster.

Ever since the Bishop of *Winchester* had resolv'd to abandon the Empress, he had writ to the Pope, to entreat him to authorize his Proceedings in behalf of the King his Brother. As the Pope had no Information of what pass'd in *England*, but from his *Legate*, he did not fail to send him an Answer according to Wish. The Pope's Letter came not to hand till after *Stephen* was set at Liberty. In it he blam'd the Prelate for having neglected hitherto the endeavouring to restore his Brother to the Throne, and enjoin'd him for the future to do his utmost towards it, exhorting him to use all Power Ecclesiastical and Secular to accomplish that Business. Back'd with this Authority, the *Legate* summoned a Council at *Westminster*, before whom the Pope's Letter was read. The King, who was there in Person, bitterly complain'd against some of his Subjects, who not content with waging War against him, had for a long time shamefully detain'd him in Prison. After this, the Bishop of *Winchester*, in a Rhetorical Harangue, endeavour'd to justify his late Conduct and the frequent Breach of his Oaths. But he wou'd have found it a difficult Matter to purge himself, had he not been befriended by the present Juncture of Affairs. He concluded his Speech with excommunicating all the Adherents of the Empress, as so many Enemies to the publick Peace. The People were not at all pleas'd to see themselves thus liable to Excommunications directly opposite to one another, according to the Humour of the *Legate*. However no one was so hardy as to open his Mouth against it, well knowing 'twou'd be to no Purpose. There was only a *Lay-Agent* of the Empress's, who by her Order charg'd the *Legate* to his Face, that 'twas he himself that had invited her into *England*. He had even the Boldness to tell him, that 'twas by his Advice, that his Brother met with such hard Treatment during his Imprisonment. The *Legate* made no Reply to these Reproaches: but resolv'd to pursue his new Measures, and to complete his Revenge by entirely ruining *Matilda's* Affairs.

Upon

Upon *Stephen's* obtaining his Liberty, *Matilda's* Interest declin'd so visibly, that the Earl of *Glocester* was afraid her Party wou'd come to nothing, unless supported by Foreign Succours. This put him upon going over to *Normandy*, to sollicit the Earl of *Anjou* to maintain the Right of the Empress his Wife, the which was his Son's also. But the Earl was too much embroil'd in Domestick Troubles, to be able to send any great Matter of Succours into *England*. The *Angevin* Nobility were dissatisfied with him, and the *Normans* were not settled enough in their Obedience, for him to venture to be at a Distance from them, or to leave his Country unprovided with Troops. He contented himself therefore with sending a few Troops to *Matilda*, together with *Henry* his eldest Son, to try whether his Presence wou'd have any Influence over the *English*.

1142.
The Earl of
Glocester
demands
Aid of the
Earl of
Anjou.

During the Absence of the Earl of *Glocester*, *Matilda* was retir'd to *Oxford*, where she thought she might remain in Safety, till the Succors she expected from *Normandy* were arriv'd. The King looking upon This as a favourable Juncture, resolv'd to lay siege to that City, in hopes of getting his Rival in his Power, before the Earl's Return. The Siege was carried on with all the Vigour and Diligence possible, and held out in the same Manner by the Empress, who had nothing else to trust to, but a stout Defence, in order to avoid the Misfortune that hung over her Head. The Approach of Winter gave her some Hopes the King wou'd be oblig'd to retire. But He being resolutely bent to continue his Attacks, notwithstanding the Rigour of the Season, she found herself at length reduc'd to a Necessity of capitulating. As she dreaded above all Things the undergoing the same Fate she had inflicted on her Enemy, she did not think fit to wait the Issue of the Capitulation, which cou'd not but prove fatal to her. Whilst she amus'd the King with demanding such Terms, as he wou'd never grant, she took the Advantage of a dark Night, and went out of the City, cloath'd all in white, that she might deceive the Centinels, by Reason the Ground was cover'd with Snow. She pass'd the *Thames*

Matilda
besieg'd in
Oxford.
Hunt.
Malm.
Paris.

She escapes
with great
Difficulty.

1142. on the Ice, and walk'd above six Miles on Foot, with the Snow beating in her Face all the Way. In spite of all Difficulties, she came to *Abington*, where she took Horse and rid that same Night to *Wallingford*. The King was astonish'd when he came to find he was thus disappointed. He did not much matter the taking of *Oxford*, since it put not *Matilda* in his Power. In the mean Time, Prince *Henry* and the Earl of *Glocester*, who were just arriv'd, being inform'd of the Empress's lucky Escape, went to her at *Wallingford*, where the Sight of her Son blotted out, for a Time, all remembrance of her Misfortunes. Here ends the History of *William of Malmesbury*, one of the most exact and most judicious Writers of those Days, and whom, for that reason, I have chiefly taken for my Guide.

1143. In the Beginning of the year 1143. the *Legate* summon'd a Council at *London*, at which the King was present. He made a long Speech, the Drift of which was to convince the Bishops of the Necessity of their exerting themselves more vigorously than they had hitherto done, in order to bring a War, so prejudicial to the Kingdom, to a speedy Conclusion. He declar'd, he was ready to persevere in exposing his Life in the Service of the State : but added, he cou'd not flatter himself with any hopes of Success, without the Assistance of his Subjects. And therefore he requir'd, that all those that were able to bear Arms, shou'd attend him in his military Expeditions, and that the Rest shou'd furnish him with Money. This was address'd particularly to the *Clergy*, who being entirely guided by the Bishop of *Winchester*, promis'd to grant him a *Subsidy*. However upon this Condition, that the *Church* shou'd be better protected for the future, than it had been heretofore. The King having assur'd them that 'twas his Intention, and that he wou'd always take Care, that the *Canons* shou'd be strictly obser'd, the *Council* pass'd Two, which related to the Times. By the First 'twas declar'd, that He that kill'd an *Ecclesiastick*, shou'd not be absolv'd by any but the Pope. The second ordain'd, that whoever insulted the *Husbandman*, actually employ'd in his *Vocation*, shou'd

shou'd suffer the same Punishment as They that committed
the like Outrage in a *Church* or *Chyrch-yard*. 1143.

The Rest of this Year's Occurences consist only of *Continuation of the War.*
a tedious Account of the Particulars of the Civil War,
which laid the Kingdom waste. We meet with nothing
but Taking and surprising Castles, some little Skirmishes of
no Consequence, and Abundance of Barbarities and Cruelties
committed on both Sides. Not to tire the Reader with the
Recital of Matters of no Moment, I shall only observe,
that in this and the three next Years, *Stephen's Party* visi-
bly gain'd Ground. To which the Death of the Earl of *Glocester*, and of *Milo the Earl of Hereford* (*a*), her chief Councelbr and most faithful Friend, greatly contributed. After the Loss of these two Earls, *Matilda*, perceiving she shoud not be able to stand her Ground much longer, left *England* and retir'd to *Normandy*, where she had alrea-
goes into Norman-dy.

Upon he Empress's going off, *Stephen* finding him-
self in peaceable Possession of the Crown, fell to contriving
the Means to secure it after his Death, to *Eustace* his eldest
Son. To this End he got some of the Barons to take
their Oath to him, imagining he shou'd by that Means
gain his Post. But his own Experience might have taught
him what broken Reed he trusted to.

Towards the latter End of the year 1147 he went and
kept his *Christmas* at *Lincoln*; where he wou'd put on his
Crown, notwithstanding 'twas foretold, by a certain
Prophecy, tat great Misfortunes shou'd befall the Kings
who durst appear in that City with their Crowns on.

Whilst

(a) *Milo* was treated Earl of *Hereford* by *Patent* from *Matilda*, being the Fi of that Kind that we know of. 'Tis to be seen in *Rymers Fæder*. Tom. I. p. 8.

1148.
A new Croisade, wherein Lewis of France distinguishes himself. Falls out with his Queen.

Whilst *Stephen* was enjoying the Peace and Quiet that follow'd upon *Matilda's* Retreat, the Zeal of the Christian World rouzing it self again, a fresh *Croisade* against the *Saracens* was set on foot. *Lewis the Young*, King of *France*, signaliz'd himself in this Expedition, by the great Number of Troops he led in Person to the *Holy-Land*. He was accompanied by *Eleanor of Guyenne* his Queen, Heiress of the House of *Poitiers*, by whom he had in Dowry the Earldom of *Guyenne* with its Appurtenances, and all *Poitou*. During the Journey, which lasted near two years, *Lewis* fell out in such a manner with his Queen, upon some Suspicion, well or ill-grounded *, that he resolv'd to divorce her as soon as he reach'd *France* again.

1149.
Prince Henry forms a Design of asserting his Claim to England. Hunt. Hoved.

He confers with the King of Scotland.

Since *Matilda* had, as it were, dropp'd all Pretensions to *England*, *Stephen* thought of nothing but reaping the Fruits of his Labours, and repairing the Mischiefs the Kingdom had suffer'd by a long War. But a new Rival, who was preparing to dispute the Crown with him, soon made him sensible, that he was still far enough from the Tranquillity he had pleas'd himself with the Hopes of. *Henry*, the eldest Son of *Matilda* by the Earl of *Anjou*, a Prince of sixteen years of Age, aid of a lively and enterprising *Genius*, thought the Difficulties, which the Empress his Mother met with in *England* ought not to be any Discouragement to him. He did not question but They that had supported the Right o the lawful Heir, wou'd always continue in the same Mind, and that a new Leader, of more Youth and Vigour wou'cinspire them with fresh Courage. In this Belief, he resolv'd to go to the King of *Scotland* his Great-Uncle, and concert Measures with him how to accomplish his Desig. *David* having Notice of the Prince's Coming, met him in *Northumberland*. After he had conferr'd with him bout his Affairs, he knighted him, according to the Custom of those Days, when this Ceremony was deem'd necessary for all Those that took upon them the Professions of Arms. In

the

* He suspected her of Adultery with a young *Saracen*; but the Pretence he made use of to divorce her was tlt they were Cousins in the Fourth Degree.

the mean time, *Stephen*, who had receiv'd Intelligence of this Interview, fearing they had some Design upon *York*, march'd thither with all speed and reinforc'd the Garrison. Upon his Approach, the two Princes took their Leaves of one another. *David* returning to *Scotland*, and *Henry* to *Normandy*. He was scarce arriv'd at *Roan*, when *Geoffrey* his Father departed this Life, leaving him the Earldom of *Anjou*, till such Time as the Empress his Mother's Death shou'd put him in possession of *Normandy*, after which he was to give up *Anjou* to *Geoffrey* his younger Brother.

1150.

Earl of Anjou dies.

Lewis had deferr'd the divorcing of *Eleanor* his Wife, only till he had brought her back to *France*. Immediately after his Return, he put his Resolution in Practice, and generously restor'd to her, *Guyenne*, *Poitou*, *Saintonge*, and all the Dominions in general that she had brought him in Marriage, and provided also for the two Daughters he had by her. As soon as this Divorce became publick, *Henry*, *Henry* who with his Mother's Consent had taken the Title of *Duke of Normandy*, contriv'd the Means to secure the Possession of this rich Heiress. Matters were carried on with such Secrecy, that the first News *Lewis* heard of the Affair, was that the Duke was gone to the Queen at *Bourdeaux*, where their Nuptials were solemniz'd with extraordinary Magnificence. This was a great Mortification to the *French King*, who cou'd not bear to see another deckt with his Spoils, tho' he himself had voluntarily relinquish'd them. Besides, he was sensible, how formidable *Henry* wou'd become to *France*, in case he shou'd one day sit on the Throne of *England*, to which he had so good a Title. On the other Hand, this same Marriage made *Stephen* no less uneasy, who cou'd not behold this Increase of Power in his Rival without dreading the Consequences of it. The Jealousy of these two Monarchs being thus rous'd, it was not long before they enter'd into an Alliance, the Design of which was to humble a Prince, who was grown very formidable to Both. *Lewis* rais'd him Disturbances in *Anjou* by means of *Geoffrey* his Brother, who thought he had a Right, by Virtue of his Father's Will, to take Possession.

1151.
Lewis di-
vorces
Eleanor.*marries*
her.*Lewis and*
Stephen
grow jea-
lous of
Henry.*They enter*
into a
League.

1151. scription of that Earldom. At the same Time, he invested once more *Eustace Son of Stephen*, with *Normandy*, that *Henry* thus attack'd from two Quarters might afford the King of *England* time to establish himself on the Throne. On the other Side, *Stephen* took all the Measures, he thought capable of destroying the Duke's Party in *England*, in order to cut off all his Hopes of ever coming to the Crown. The most proper Means to this End was, in his Opinion, to get his Son *Eustace* crown'd before-hand. But he met with Obstacles he little dreamt of. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* flatly refus'd to comply with his Request, and his Reason for it was still more offensive than the Denial it self. He told him, that the Pope had expressly forbidden him to crown the Son of a Prince, who contrary to his Oath had usurp'd the Kingdom. If it was true that the Pope had given any such Orders to the Archbishop, his Sentiments were very different from Those of his Predecessor, *Innocent II.* But 'tis very likely that this Prelate, as well as the rest of the Bishops, made use of this Pretence as a Cloak for the Engagement they had already enter'd into with the Duke of *Normandy*. Be this as it will, the King, incens'd at the obstinate Denial of the Bishops, caus'd them to be all shut up in one House, resolving to keep them there till they shou'd comply with his Will. As this was a very extraordinary Way of proceeding, so it met not with Success. The House, where the Bishop's were detain'd, not having been carefully enough guarded, the Archbishop found the Means to get out and escape to *Normandy*. By his Flight the King's Project entirely fell to the Ground.

1152. *Stephen* was extremely offended at the Presumption of the *Clergy*, who claim'd a Power of *Making* and *Unmaking* Kings just as they pleas'd or as it suited with the Interests of such as had an Influence over the rest. As he did not question but the Duke of *Normandy* had gain'd the Bishops to his Party, and as he durst not directly attack them, he thought the best Way to bring them back to their Duty, wou'd be to seize upon some Castles, which still remain'd in the Hands of the Duke's Friends, by that means

He forms a Design of bumbling the Clergy.
Diceto Gervaf. Hunt.

means depriving them of their Protection. At the same Time, he sent his Son *Eustace* into *Normandy* to join the King of *France* and attack that Dutchy. *Stephen's Aim* was to prevent *Henry* from coming into *England* and assisting his Friends there. But this War lasted not so long as he expected. *Henry*, by his extraordinary Courage and Diligence, drove out of *Anjou* his Brother *Geoffrey*, who had already seiz'd upon some Fortresses. After which he march'd back to *Normandy*, where he found the Means by making him some Satisfaction; to strike up a Peace with the King of *France*. This done, it was no hard Matter to drive *Eustace* out of *Normandy*, where he had not as yet got any good Footing. *Eustace* finding nothing was to be done in that Country, returned to *England*, and went and join'd his Father, who was taken up with besieging *Wallingford*. This was one of the strongest Places in the Kingdom. Accordingly the King spent so much Time in the Siege that the Duke had leisure enough to come to its Relief, after he had settled his Affairs in *Normandy*.

*He besieges
Walling-
ford,*

The young Duke, perceiving of what Importance it was to succour his Friends in *England*, led over thither so considerable a Number of Forces, that he gave new Life to his Party, which since *Matilda's Departure*, seem'd to be quite out of Heart. Several Barons immediately join'd him, and put into his Hands 30 fortified Castles, whose Garrisons he reinfor'd. After this, he hasted to the Relief of *Wallingford*, which was very hard press'd, tho' the King was absent, being gone to *London* to make fresh Preparations. *Henry* drawing near with his Army, and finding it very difficult to assault the Besiegers in their Intrenchments, contented himself with securing the Avenues, through which they were supplied with Provisions. This wary of Proceeding would have proved fatal to them, had not *Stephen* posted with all speed to their Succour. He marched up very near to the Duke of *Normandy*, and without designing to attack him, brought him into the same Inconveniences, he had for some few days reduc'd the Besiegers to.

*Henry
goes over
into Eng-
land, and
is join'd by
some of the
Barons.
He mar-
ches to
Walling-
ford,*

1152.
*The two
 Armies be-
 ing just go-
 ing to en-
 gage, the
 Earl of A-
 rundel per-
 suades the
 King to
 Peace.*

It was scarce possible for the Armies to separate without engaging. Accordingly the two Leaders were preparing for Battle with equal Ardour, when, by the prudent Advice of the Earl of Arundel, who was on the King's Side, they were prevented from coming to Blows. He represented to the King the Miseries the Kingdom was going to be expos'd to by a Battle, which cou'd not but be very bloody, and almost as fatal to the Vanquishers, as Vanquish'd. He added, that 'twou'd be more Christian-like, to try whether Matters cou'd not be accommodated by a Treaty, which wou'd restore Peace to the unfortunate Kingdom. In fine, he plainly told him, that 'twas not reasonable that a whole Nation shou'd be expos'd to the greatest Calamities, on account of two Princes who aim'd more at gratifying their own Ambition, than at the Happiness of the *English*. Whether these Remonstrances made any Impression on *Stephen*, or whether he was apprehensive of being deserted, if he obstinately persisted in a Resolution to fight, he consented that an Accommodation shou'd be propos'd to the Duke. It was not without Difficulty that the young Prince, who had prepar'd for Battle, was brought to hearken to the King's Proposal. But perceiving that the *English* Lords press'd him very earnestly to it, he thought proper to yield to their Importunity, and consent to the Interview *Stephen* had demanded. In a short Conference, these two Princes held together on the opposite Banks of the *Thames* which was pretty narrow at that Place, they agreed upon a Truce, in order to have Time to negotiate a Peace.

*A Truce
 made.*

1153.
*Sufface
 retires
 from the
 Army.*

ad dict.

Earl *Eustace* cou'd not but be mightily concern'd at this Truce. He foresaw that in all appearance a Peace would follow, which must needs be prejudicial to him. And indeed it was not to be suppos'd, that the Duke of Normandy unconquer'd at the Head of his Army, wou'd drop his Pretensions to the Crown. To avoid being oblig'd to sign the Treaty, or perhaps to try to throw some Obstacle in its way, *Eustace* suddenly left the Army, and retir'd into *Suffolk*. Shortly after, as he was going to sit down at Table in the Abby of St. *Edmundsbury*, he fell into a Frenzy,

zy, and died in three Days, being 18 years of Age. He was buried in the Abbey of *Faversham* with the Queen his Mother, who died a few Months before. *Constantia* his Widow, Daughter to *Lewis the Fat*, was married afterwards to *Raymond Earl of Tholonse*.

Stephen was extremely afflicted for the Loss of his Queen and Son, which seem'd to him to portend some farther Misfortunes. And indeed the Nobility openly abandon'd him and went over to the Duke of *Normandy*. As there were very few Barons but what had been guilty of Disloyalty, the Dread they were in, that the King might have it in his Thoughts to be reveng'd of them, made them judge it necessary for their Safety to put themselves under the Protection of the Duke. Their Suspitions were the more confirm'd by what had just happen'd to the Earl of *Chester*. This Earl having waited on the King with an Offer of his Service, had been taken into close Custody, from whence he cou'd not free himself but by delivering the Castle of *Lincoln* into the King's Hands. 'Twas not however without Cause that the King was willing to secure himself against the Earl, who had privately sided with the Duke of *Normandy*, as appears from a Charter in the *Collection of publick Acts*, whereby *Henry* promis'd him the Possession of certain Lands. 'Tis probable therefore, that *Stephen* had some Intelligence of this Matter. But whether he had neglected to publish the Reasons of his confining the Earl, or whether he cou'd not plainly convict him of his Treachery, this Action was look'd upon by the rest of the Barons, as a Presage of what they themselves were to expect. And indeed, there were several of them, who having enter'd likewise into Articles with the Duke, believ'd it safer to declare for him openly, than to expose themselves to the King's Resentments by staying at Court.

David King of Scotland died this Year, leaving only some Grandchildren by *Henry* his Son, who died before him. *Malcolm* and *William*, the two eldest, succeeded one another to the Crown, and *David* their Brother was Earl of *Huntington*.

The Barons side with the Duke. The Reason of it.

Acta Publica. Tom. I. p. 12.

David King of Scotland dies.

1153.
Stephen
resolves to
make Peace
with Hen-
ry.

The Terms
of it.

Head of
Henry.

The People
rejoice at
the Peace.

The Truce between *Stephen* and *Henry* was renew'd several Times, by reason of the Difficulties which occurr'd in the Negotiation of the Peace. The main Obstacle was *Stephen's* Desire to settle the Succession on his Son *William*, to which *Henry* wou'd never consent. He was willing that *Stephen* shou'd enjoy the Crown during his Life: But after his Death, he insisted upon succeeding him. He even thought he had abated a great deal of his Right, in obliging himself not to give any Disturbance to a Rival, who was not yet fifty Years of Age. In fine, *Stephen*, reflecting on the State of his Affairs, and the great Obstacles that lay in his Way, resolved to purchase Peace and Quiet by dropping the Design he had form'd. He was sensible, the noble Qualities of the Duke, and his Title to the Crown, a Title powerfully supported, were Difficulties that cou'd not easily be surmounted. The Inclinations of the Nobles and People gave him further Occasion to dread, they wou'd not stay for his Death, to put the Scepter into the Hands of the young Prince. These Considerations induc'd him at length to consent to the Peace, as propos'd by *Henry*. As soon as it was sign'd, *Stephen* perform'd the Ceremony of adopting the young Duke, who paid him the Reverence due to a Father. On the other Hand, *William* the King's Son, swore Fealty to *Henry*, who promis'd him on his Part to maintain him in the Possession of the Estates of his Family, and of all those that had been granted him by the King his Father, since his Accession to the Crown *.

This Treaty was concluded and sign'd at *Winchester*, at an Assembly conven'd for that Purpose of all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. After This, the two Princes made their publick Appearance together in the principal Cities, where they were receiv'd with great Demonstrations of Joy. The People cou'd not enough express their Satisfaction at seeing Peace and Tranquillity at length restor'd to the Kingdom after so many Years of Troubles and

* This Agreement is recited and confirm'd by *Stephen's Charter* or Declaration under his Seal, in *Brompton's Chronicle* [p. 1037, 1038.] directed to all the faithful People of *England*.

and Confusion. An Historian affirms that amidst these Rejoicings, *Henry* discover'd a Conspiracy laid against him by *William* the King's Son; and adds, the Plot wou'd have been executed, had not *William* by accident fallen off his Horse and broke his Thigh. To this he attributes the sudden Departure of the Duke of *Normandy*, who, without showing any Signs of Mistrust, took his Leave of the dy.

King, and return'd to his Dominions, till such Time as the Death of *Stephen* shou'd put him in possession of the Throne of *England*. Another Historian makes no Scruple to assert, that *Henry* was *Stephen's* Son, with whom the Empress had liv'd too familiarly before her second Marriage. But there is no depending at all upon the Truth of this Fact, since, as the Author owns himself, it had no better Foundation than common Report.

Altho' after the Agreement he had made with *Henry*, *Stephen* cou'd have no hopes of leaving the Crown to his Son, yet he was so affected with the Miseries the Kingdom had endur'd, that he resolv'd to use all his Endeavours to repair them. He even seem'd to take proper Measures to that End. But Death, which surpris'd him unawares, prevented him from executing his generous Design. He died in the fiftieth year of his Age, on the 25th of October 1154, eleven Months after the Treaty with *Henry*. He was buried by the Queen his Wife and *Eustace* his Son, in the Abbey of *Faversham*, which he himself had founded.

If this Prince's Character be consider'd in general only, it may be said that he was worthy to live in better Times, and that his good Qualities more than counterballanc'd his bad ones. However 'twou'd be very difficult to justify all the Steps be made towards mounting the Throne, particularly the Breach of his Oath. Accordingly, tho' the Consent of the Barons may seem to be of some Weight in this Matter, yet as it was procur'd by Faction and Cabal, several are of opinion that he ought for all that to be deem'd an Usurper. His Breaking his Word on certain Occasions, is moreover a stain to his Memory. Perhaps the Circumstances of the Times and of his Affairs hurried him on to greater Lengths than his natural Temper wou'd otherwise have

1153.
Gervase,
Plot a-
gainst
Henry,
who re-
turns to
Norman-
dy.

1154.
Stephen's
Death.

Stephen's
Character.

A.D. 1154.

have carried him. But however, one cannot refuse him the Commendations due to his Valour, Clemency, and Generosity. He gave a Proof of the First in the Battle of *Lincoln*, where he was taken Prisoner. That he was possess'd of the two other Virtues can't be denied, when one considers, that throughout his whole Reign there is not a single Instance of Severity to be met with, tho' several of the Barons, whom the Fortune of War had put in his Power, had given him but too much Reason to use them with Rigour. 'Tis true, there are some Historians, that have done their utmost to blacken his Reputation. But it must be observ'd, that the greatest Part of them wrote in the Reign of *Henry II.* or of his Sons. As for *William of Malmesbury*, who was Cotemporary with *Stephen*, he is known to be a Creature of the Earl of *Glocester's*, to whom he dedicated the last Part of his History. This alone shou'd make us read with Caution, what he relates to *Stephen's* Disadvantage. After all, it is no easy Matter to determine whether the Crown justly belong'd to *Matilda*, or whether *Stephen's* Election gave him a Right to take Possession of it. What may be said with more Certainty is This, that, after the Conquest, the Saxon Laws were no longer regarded, and it does not appear that the Normans had as yet establish'd any settled Rules concerning the Succession to the Crown.

The Canon Law re-introd. in England.

The Troubles during this Reign furnish'd the Clergy with a favourable Opportunity of raising the Mitre above the Crown. The Court of *Rome* laid hold also on this Juncture, to introduce into *England* new Laws, which the *English* without doubt wou'd have oppos'd at any other Time. The *Canon Law* compil'd by *Gratian* in 1151, by the Authority of *Eugenius III.* was brought into *England*, by the means of the Dispute between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Winchester* about the *Legateship*. This Contest gave the *Italian Canonists* an Opportunity to settle in *England*, and introduce by Degrees the Study of the *Canon Law* into the University of *Oxford*, where *Vacarius* was the first Professor.

Stephen

Stephen left but one legitimate Son, call'd *William*, who was Earl of *Bulloign* in Right of the Queen his Mother. Stephen's He had also one Daughter nam'd *Maria*, who after she had put on the *Veil*, was notwithstanding married to *Philip of Alsace*; but upon the Death of her Husband she return'd to the Nunnery.

A natural Son of Stephen's, call'd *William*, as well as the legitimate one, has given Occasion to Some, deceiv'd by the Likeness of their Names, to affirm that this Prince left behind him only a Bastard Son.



The

The S T A T E of the Church during the Reigns of WILLIAM I. WILLIAM II. HENRY and STEPHEN.

The different Character of the Saxon and Norman Kings with regard to the Church.

TH E Revolution in *England* by the *Norman Conquest* introduc'd a New Face of things both in *Church* and *State*. More especially the *Pope* and *Clergy* were considerable Losers by it. Instead of the Devout and Submissive *Saxon* Princes who were ready to embrace all Opportunities of augmenting the *Privileges* and *Revenues* of the *Church*, they had to deal with a Race of *Norman* Kings, who were of quite another Stamp. Wholly taken up with grasping at Arbitrary Power, they cou'd not away with any Distinction between the *Clergy* and *Laity* as to Point of Obedience. They challeng'd an equal Authority over Both. What Schemes soever the Court of *Rome* had laid to render the *Clergy* Independent of the Regal Power, the Reigns of the two *Williams* were not look'd upon as favourable Junctures to put them in Execution. The *Normans*, out of a Motive of Interest, were entirely attach'd to their Sovereigns, and the *English*, in the low Estate they were reduc'd to, were no proper Instruments to promote the Cause of the Court of *Rome*. Matters standing thus in *England*, the most vigorous Efforts of the Popes to enlarge their Power there, wou'd have been all to no Purpose. This in all likelihood was the Reason that made *Gregory VII.* with all his Haughtiness, stoop to the resolute and steddy Temper of *William the Conqueror*. This Monarch, not content with boldly denying to do Homage to *Gregory* as he demanded, openly made a Jest of the *Papal Decrees*. He govern'd

govern'd the *Clergy* of his Kingdom, as well as the rest of his Subjects, with an Absolute Sway. If he suffer'd the Pope's *Legates* to preside at a *Council*, 'twas only that he might with the greater Ease get rid of certain Bishops who gave him some Disturbance. But when he found that this same *Synod* scrupled to come into all his Measures, he exerted his absolute Power. By his Sole Authority, he banish'd or imprison'd such Bishops as he did not like, without troubling himself to stay for a *Canonical Sentence*. On the other Hand, whilst the Pope was thundring out *Anathema's* against the Emperor, and compelling him to do him a dishonorable Homage, *William* peaceably enjoy'd, in his Dominions, the Right of *Investitures*, which was the Subject of the Quarrel between the Emperor and the Court of *Rome*. He made the *Church-Lands* liable to the same Incumbrances with the *Lay-Fees*. He seiz'd upon the Gold and Silver deposited in the Monasteries, and spar'd not even the *Consecrated Vessels*. Nothing was transacted in the *Church* but by his Direction, and the *Synodal Constitutions* were no longer in Force than during his Pleasure. He went still further, and set himself, in some Measure, above the *Popes*, by forbidding his Subjects to receive their Orders or acknowledge their Authority, without his Permission.

William Rufus had no greater Regard for the *Church's* Immunities. All the Pope's Menaces were ineffectual to prevent him from keeping the vacant Bishopricks and Abbeys in his own Hands, and to dispose of them afterwards to the best Bidder. I do not pretend by any Means to excuse the Conduct of these two Monarchs in these Particulars. My Design is only to make appear, by these Instances, that the Court of *Rome* owes the Progress and Growth of its Power purely to its politick and prudent Management. The Popes wisely gave way to The pru-
dents Poli-
cy of the
Court of
Rome to
establis-
her Au-
thority.

Court of *Rome* with regard to the four first Kings of the *Norman* Race. After *She* had given way to the two *Williams*, *She* struggled along time with *Henry I.* But when *She* found there was no getting the Better of him, *She* sat down contented with what *She* wou'd have spurn'd at with Scorn in the Beginning of the Contest. *She* compounded the Matter with that Monarch, by consenting that the Bishops and Abbots shou'd do him Homage, at the very time *She* obstinately refus'd the same Terms to the Emperor, whose Affairs were not in so good a Condition. As for *Stephen*, *She* knew how to make the best of the Commotions during his Reign by fomenting them by the Means of the Bishop of *Winchester*. As *She* was always upon the Watch to lay hold on all the Advantages that offer'd, *She* took an Occasion from these same Troubles to appoint a *Legate*, different from the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which *She* durst not have done at any other time. This Incroachment seem'd at first but of little Consequence, but was afterwards attended with a great Influence upon the Affairs of *England*. By the Means of these *Legates* it was, that at length *She* set *Her* Foot on the Necks both of the *Kings* and of the *Clergy*. I say, of the *Clergy*, since 'tis manifest *She* aimed no less at humbling the Bishops and Archbishops than the *Kings*.

*The Pope
refuses to
send the
Pall to
Lanfranc.*

We have a manifest Proof of this Design, in the Haughty Treatment *Lanfranc*, nominated to the *See* of *Canterbury* upon *Stigand's* Deprivation, met with from the Court of *Rome*. *Lanfranc* was a Prelate of distinguish'd Worth, equally esteem'd by the King, the *English*, and the *Normans*, and consequently of very great Credit in *England*. And yet, he cou'd never obtain a Dispensation for not going to *Rome* in Person, to receive the *Pall* at the Pope's Hands. *Hildebrand*, then Archdeacon of *Rome* and afterwards prefer'd to the *Papal Chair*, under the Name of *Gregory VII*, wrote him a Letter on that Subject, wherein he endeavour'd to soften his being refus'd. He told him, that if there had been any *Precedent* that the like Favour had been granted to any one of his

*The Rea-
sons of it.*

Prede-

Predecessors, he wou'd not have met with a Denial. But, either he was not well vers'd in the Ecclesiastical History of *England*, or else, he suppos'd that *Lanfranc* knew nothing of the *Pall's* being sent to *Austin*, *Justus*, *Honorius*, all three Archbishops of *Canterbury*. 'Twas not then out of a Scruple to introduce a New Custom, that *Lanfranc* was denied this Favour, but for fear the Archbishops shou'd by degrees forget their Dependence on the Pope. We shall frequently see in the Sequel of this History, how much the *Roman Pontiffs* abus'd their exorbitant Power over the *Clergy of England*. 'Tis not yet time to insist on these Matters. But in order to give a general Knowledge of the most important Ecclesiastical Affairs, which happen'd in *England* during the Interval we have gone thro', it is necessary to lay down the Rise of the Disputes between the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*. This Contest, which lasted so long, is not one of the most inconsiderable Articles of the Ecclesiastical History of *England*.

Whilst *Lanfranc* was preparing for his Journey to *Rome*, *Thomas*, Canon of *Bayeux*, one of *William the Conqueror's* Chaplains, was nominated to the See of *York*. Shortly after the new Prelate came to *Canterbury* to receive his Consecration from that Archbishop according to Custom. But *Lanfranc* having requir'd him to bind himself in Writing to perform Canonical Obedience to that See, he refus'd to comply, and went away without being consecrated. This Contest having made a great Noise, the King wanted to be inform'd of the whole Matter, suspecting *Lanfranc* had carried his Prerogatives too High. But after several *English* Lords had made appear that *Lanfranc* had Custom on his side, *William*, without taking upon him to decide the Dispute, found out an Expedient to satisfie the two Archbishops. This was that *Thomas* shou'd go to *Canterbury* and make a Profession of Obedience in Writing to *Lanfranc*, as the Senior, and that the settling the Rights of the two *Sees* shou'd be referr'd to the Pope. This Expedient having been approv'd of, the two Prelates set out together for

*The Rise of
the Dispute
between
the two
Arch-
bishops.
Malm.
Sax. An.*

Rome to receive the *Pall*, and also to get this Controversy as well as another concerning the Jurisdiction over the *Sees* of *Lincoln*, *Lichfield* and *Worcester* decided. *Alexander II.* who was then Pope, receiv'd *Lanfranc* with particular Marks of Respect. As soon as he saw him, he rise up from his *Chair* to embrace him, declaring however that he did not treat him thus on the Score of his Station, but out of regard to his Merit. *Thomas* met with a very different Reception. The Pope voided his Election, on pretence that being the Son of a Priest, he was incapable of holding any Church Preferment. However, a few days after, he was restor'd by the Mediation of *Lanfranc*. As for the Controversies between the two Archbishops, as he was not perfect Master of their Case, he referr'd the Decision of Matters to the *English* Bishops and Abbots.

Thus the two Archbishops return'd to *England* with their Disputes undecided. As they were equally desirous to see an End put to the Affair, they went upon their Arrival to the King at *Windsor*, where on account of the *Paschal* Solemnity most of the Lords *Spiritual* and *Temporal* were assembled. The Cause was argued before the King with great Warmth on both Sides. *Lanfranc*

Reasons for Canterbury. founded his Claim upon the following Reasons. 1. That the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury* was to be consider'd the same as if the *See* had been fix'd at *London*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom, seeing *Gregory I.* decreed it shou'd be so. 2. That the *Church of Canterbury* was the most antient in the Kingdom, and the *Mother* of all the Rest. 3. He alledg'd the *Constitutions* of several Popes, whereby the Privilege, he laid claim to, was granted to his *See*. 4. He maintain'd that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* had exercis'd Jurisdiction within the Province of *York*. To this Purpose he produc'd the Example of *Theodore*, who had even *depriv'd* several Bishops in the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. 5. Lastly, he added, that the Archbishops of *York* had made a Profession to his Predecessors of the *Canonical Obedience*, which *Thomas* refus'd to submit to. For Proof of this, he instanc'd in *Ealdulph*, who

who had made no scruple to profess Obedience to *Ade-*
lard.

The Archbishop of *York* replied, That it was true, *Reasons for
Gregory I.* did design to have fix'd the *Archiepiscopal See*
at *London*, but that he was far enough from any Thoughts
of giving that *See* any Pre-eminence over *York*. To make
good his Assertion, he cited the Authority of *Bede*, who
lays in express Terms, that *Gregory* had decreed, that after
the Death of *Austin*, the two Archbischopricks shou'd
stand upon an equal Foot of Privilege and Independency.
Thomas inferr'd from thence, that supposing the *Archiepiscop-*
al See had been at *London*, it wou'd make Nothing for
Lanfranc's Cause. 2. He said, 'twas not Fact, that the
Church of *Canterbury* was the Mother of that of *York*,
since 'twas notorious to all the World, that the *Church*
of *York* was founded by the *Scotch* Monks, who had no
manner of Relation to the *Church* of *Canterbury*. 3. As
for the Jurisdiction exercis'd by *Theodore* in *Northumber-*
land, he asserted that he laid hold on the Disturbances
which at that time distracted the *Church*, to extend his
Authority over that Kingdom, and therefore being mani-
festly usurp'd, it cou'd not serve for a Precedent to found a
Right upon. *Lanfranc* wou'd have found it a difficult
Matter to answer the Argument brought by *Thomas* from
Gregory's Regulation concerning the Independency of
the two Archbishops, if he had not been able to plead the
Constitutions of several Popes in his Behalf. More-
over, he supported his Title by Custom, concerning which
the *English* gave their Testimony in his Favour. This
was also a great Means of his gaining the Cause. They
were of Opinion, that the Popes, Successors to *Gregory*,
had a Power to annull his *Constitution*, and therefore the
King and Lords thought it just that the Archbishops of
York shou'd make Profession of *Canonical Obedience* to the
See of *Canterbury*. The other Controversy about the
three Bishopricks, was decided likewise in Favour of *La-*
franc, and the Archbishop of *York* acquiesc'd in both these
Sentences. But however, to avoid any Disputes for the
future, there was drawn up, in the Name of the two
*Arch-
bishops*.

*The Sen-
tence of
the King
and Lords.*

*Articles of
Agreement
between
the two
Arch-
bishops.*

Archbishops, a Writing in form of an Agreement, wherein all Matters between them were adjusted. *Thomas* was made to own that he was in the Wrong to dispute *Lanfranc's* Superiority, and Jurisdiction over the whole *Church of England*. He declar'd, that as Archbishop of *York* he ow'd *Canonical Obedience*, not only to the Person of *Lanfranc* as his Senior, but to all the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, as such. He dropp'd also his Pretensions to the three Bishopricks in Question. *Lanfranc*, on his Part, gave up to the Archbishops of *York*, the Jurisdiction over all the *Sees* on the *North-Side* of the *Hummer* to the farthest Parts of *Scotland*. It was likewise agreed on, that if the Archbishop of *Canterbury* shou'd call a *National Synod*, the Archbishop of *York* and his *Suffragans*, shou'd be oblig'd to make their Appearance, in what part soever of the Kingdom the *Synod* shou'd be conven'd. The two Archbishops further covenanted, that upon the Decease of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Archbishop of *York* shou'd repair to that City, and with the Assistance of the *Suffragans* of that *See*, shou'd consecrate the Primate Elect. And that the Person nominated to the *See* of *York* shou'd be oblig'd to come and be consecrated within the Province of *Canterbury*. In fine, *Lanfranc* omitted Nothing that might establish the Superiority of his *See* over that of *York*. As for the Oath, which *Lanfranc* requir'd of *Thomas*, it is said, in the Agreement, that the King having desir'd it shou'd be dispens'd with, *Lanfranc* readily consented to it; however he expressly reserv'd a Right to demand this Oath of those who, for the time to come, shou'd be promoted to the *See of York*.

Thus the Controversy between the two *Metropolitan Sees* was determin'd, or at least seem'd to be so; for in process of time it was frequently set on foot again. The Truth is, this was not a Regulation made by a *Synod*, but Articles of Agreement between the Two Archbishops, authoris'd by the King. Accordingly this was the Pretence the Archbishops of *York* us'd, to renew the Dispute. They pretended, that as no *Synod* had given Sentence

Sentence against them, their Right remain'd intire. In the time of *Anselm*, another *Thomas*, nominated to the *See of York*, refus'd to take the Oath, but at length was constrain'd to do it.

Notwithstanding these two Precedents, *Thurstan* having been elected Archbishop of *York*, in the Reign of *Henry I.*, refus'd to make the Customary Submissions to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But the King gave him to understand, he must either comply, or renounce his Archbishoprick. *Thurstan*, how irkome soever it might be to him, chose the Latter. However he got the *Chapter of York* to send *Delegates* to *Paschal II.*, to represent to him the Wrong done to their *See*. These *Delegates* remonstrated that the King had exceeded his Power, in compelling *Thurstan* to renounce his Election, for not being willing to subject the *See of York* to an Obedience, which had never been *Canonically* enjoin'd. This Argument prevailing with the Pope, he writ to the King, exhorting him to restore *Thurstan*, and adding that in Case the Archbishops had any Dispute about Privileges, he himself wou'd equitably decide the Matter. *Paschal* being dead, and *Gelasius II.* having succeeded him, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* sent his *Agents* to *Rome* to sound the new Pope's Sentiments concerning the Contest. These *Agents* reported, that they found by what the Pope said, that he designed to send a *Legate* into *England* to decide the Controversy. But he was prevented by Death, which seiz'd him as he was travelling to *France*.

Calixtus II. Successor to *Gelasius*, being come to *Rheims* to hold a *Council* which he conven'd there, *Thurstan* obtain'd the King's Leave to go thither; but upon condition that he wou'd not receive *Consecration* from the Pope or any other Bishop. However the King, not confiding altogether on this Prelate's Word, sent a Letter to the Pope on that Head. He protested in his Letter, that if *Thurstan* was consecrated by any but the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he shou'd never more set Foot in *England*. Notwithstanding this Protestation, *Calixtus* himself consecrated *Thurstan*, in the Presence of the *Council*. The Arch-

Archdeacon of *Canterbury* wou'd have oppos'd the Matter, but was told by the Pope, that he did not design by it any Manner of Injury to the *See of Canterbury*. *Henry* not having been able to prevent *Thurstan* from being consecrated, banish'd him the Kingdom with his whole Family. But he did not remain long in Exile. The Pope, willing to stand by what he had done, threatened the King with *Excommunication*, and his Kingdom with an *Interdict* *. The Resoluteness of the Pope caus'd *Henry* to yield at length, that *Thurstan* shou'd be install'd without making the customary Submissions to the *See of Canterbury*. It is true, to save the King's Honour, this Prelate gave his Word, not to perform any of his *Archiepiscopal* Functions out of the Diocese of *York*. Thus the *See of York* recover'd in some Measure, part of the Ground it had lost. After that, this Contest was reviv'd several Times: But there is no Necessity of pursuing this Subject any farther. What has been said is sufficient to let the Reader see the State of the Case between the two *Primates*, and the Grounds each proceeded upon.

The See of Canterbury by degrees extends its Jurisdiction over Wales.

Before we leave this Subject concerning the Jurisdiction of these two *Sees*, it will not be improper to speak of some other Matters relating to this Affair. We have seen, in the foregoing Book, that *Gucan*, a Welsh Priest, nominated to the Bishoprick of *Landaff* in *Wales*, was consecrated by *Dunstan* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, tho' the Bishop of St. *David's* exercis'd *Archiepiscopal* Authority in that Country. This was a new Acquisition of Power to the *See of Canterbury*, which till then had no Jurisdiction over the *Welsh* Bishops. *Gucan's* Successors following his Example, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* claim'd the same Power with regard to all the Bishops in *Wales*. But they met with great Opposition. At length, in the Reign of *Henry I.* *Bernard*, the Queen's Chaplain, having been nominated to the *See of St. David's*, was consecrated by *Ralph* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Step was a great Cor-

* By Virtue of this *Interdict*, all *Divine Service* was to cease, and no part of the Sacerdotal Office to be exercis'd, unless in the *Baptism* of Infants and *Absolution* of dying *Penitents*.

Corroboration of the Archbishop's Pretensions, who main'tain'd, that since his Jurisdiction was own'd by the Chief of the Welsh Bishops, the rest cou'd not be off from professing their Obedience. However, as *Bernard* repented afterwards of what he had done, a long Contest arose, which was not decided 'till *Wales* was united to *England* in the Reign of *Edward I.*

Whilst *Ralph* sat in the Chair of *Canterbury*, he receiv'd a Letter from *Alexander I.* King of *Scotland*, wherein he acquainted him with the Death of *Turgot*, Bishop of St. *Andrew's*, and desir'd his Recommendation of a worthy Successor. At the same time, he intreated him to remember that the Archbishops of *Canterbury* had been posses'd Time out of Mind, of the Right to consecrate the Bishops of St. *Andrew's*, and that *Lanfranc* was the First that yielded up that Privilege to the See of *York*. And therefore, he gave him to understand that his Intent was to set Things again upon their ancient Bottom, and begg'd he wou'd assist him with his Advice to that End. *Ralph* perceiving by his Letter that *Alexander* wanted an Opportunity to fowr the Archbishop of *York*, was unwilling to concern himself in the Matter. And indeed, *Alexander's* Supposition that the Scotch Bishops had any Dependence on the See of *Canterbury*, was wholly groundless. On the contrary, 'twas very certain, that for a long while the Popes had put the Church of *Scotland* under the Jurisdiction of the Archbishop of *York*. These antient *Constitutions* were the Foundation of the Agreement between *Lanfranc* and *Thomas*. However in proces of Time, there were Scotch Bishops, who refus'd to acknowledge the Archbishop of *York* for their Primate, and by that Means were the Occasion of violent Contests. But at length, Pope *Paschal II's* Bull, whereby he made them *Suffragans* to the See of *York*, put an End to the Dispute.

Tho' the Controversy between the two Archbishops about their Jurisdiction, does not seem to be of any great Moment, 'twas necessary however to know the Grounds of it, by Reason of the frequent Allusions to their Differences in the English History. It is time now to proceed

to Matters of a more general Concern which relates to the whole *Church*, and of which the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy* stands in the Front. So many Attempts were made to establish it in *England*, and such Obstacles were laid in its Way, that there's no avoiding being somewhat particular on this Head, without passing over in silence a very considerable Article of the *Ecclesiastical History*.

The Celibacy of the Clergy.

Reasons of the Pope's forbidding the Priests to marry.

It has been related heretofore, how zealously *Dunstan* and the Partisans of *Rome* labour'd to introduce the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy*, and how the *Danish Wars* constrain'd them to suspend their Designs. From that Time to the *Norman Conquest*, the *English Priests* liv'd on in a State of Marriage, notwithstanding the sundry Attempts of the Popes to put a stop to that pretended Licentiousness. 'Tis difficult at first sight to conceive why the Popes were so obstinately bent upon this Undertaking, because one sees not immediately, how much the Interest of the Court of *Rome* was concerned in the Case. But our Wonder at their labouring so heartily in this Affair will cease, when we consider, 'twas a great Step towards putting in Execution the Project, the Popes had formed of rendering the *Clergy* independent of the *Civil-Power*, and incorporating them into a Society apart, which should be governed by its own Laws. And indeed, whilst the Priests had Children of their own, 'twas a hard matter to prevent them from having some Dependence on their Princes, whose Favour has so great an Influence on the Fortune of private Persons. But being without Families, and consequently in expectation of no great Matters from their Sovereign, they were more at Liberty to stick by the Pope, who would be look'd upon as the Sovereign of the *Clergy*. Be this as it will, after the Popes had set their Hands to this Work, no Stone was left unturned to bring it about. *Gregory VII.* who came to the *Papacy* in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*, set his Heart more upon this Affair, than any of his Predecessors. He call'd a *Council* at *Rome*, wherein the *Clergy* were forbid to marry under heavy Penalties. The *Italians, French, Spaniards, and Germans* submitted at length, after long Struggles.

gles. But the *English*, not being of Opinion that a *Council*, made up for the most Part of *Italian* Bishops, had Power to enact Laws for all *Christendom*, were much more difficult to be dealt with. However *Lanfranc*, either to make his Court to *Gregory*, or because he was perswaded of the Justice of the Thing, endeavour'd to introduce into *England*, the Decrees of the *Council of Rome*. To this Purpose, he conven'd at *Winchester* a *national Synod*, wherein this Affair was debated. He met with so strong an Opposition, that he was upon the Point of dropping his Design. Nevertheless, finding that he cou'd not bring the *Synod* to prohibit all the *Clergy* in general from marrying, he procur'd, on what Pretence I know not, a Decree that all Priests who had their *Cures* in Cities shou'd put away their Wives. But they that had *Benefices* in the Country were not so rigorously us'd. However, to prevent for the future the married Priests from holding any *Cures*, the *Synod* ordain'd, by *Lanfranc's* Suggestion, that none shou'd be admitted into *Orders*, before they had sworn never to marry. This Restraint having discourag'd many Persons of Merit from taking *Orders*, the *Church of England* was in a little Time so ill provided with able *Ministers*, that they were forc'd to abate of their Strictness in that Point. This is evident from a Letter *Paschal II.* wrote to *Anselm*, *Lanfranc's* Successor. The Pope said, that being inform'd the greatest Part of the *English Clergy* were Sons of Priests, he was afraid 'twou'd prove a great Prejudice to the *Church*, if the *Canons* were rigorously put in Execution. For this Reason, he gave a dispensing Power in this Case to the Archbishop, when the *Church's* Interest and the Untractableness of the *English* shou'd call for it. But instead of making use of this Power, *Anselm*, who was of an inflexible Temper, summon'd a *Synod* at *London*, wherein the Marriage of Priests was condemn'd. This Sentence was incapable of entirely redressing this pretended Abuse. But doubtless *Anselm* wou'd have carried Matters much-farther, if his Contest with King *Henry* and his Death, which happen'd in 1109, had not hindred him from prosecuting his Designs.

To complete the Work which *Lanfranc* and *Anselm* had already so well forwarded, *Honorius II.* sent Cardinal *de Creme* into *England*, with the Character of *Legate*. The Cardinal call'd a Council at *Westminster*, wherein he strenuously inveigh'd against the married *Clergy*. Among other Things, he said 'twas a horrible Crime to rise from the Side of a Harlot, and then to handle the *consecrated Body of Christ*. And yet after all his Invectives he was caught that very Night in Bed with a common Woman.

Huntington. A thing, says an Historian, too notorious to be conceal'd, neither ought it to be pass'd over in Silence. 'Tis to no Purpose that several Ages after, *Baronius* attempted to destroy the Credibility of this Fact by negative Proofs, which conclude nothing against the positive Testimony of Those that relate it. But however the *Legate's* Incontinency prevented not the *Synod's* passing a *Canon* against the Priest's Marriages. On the other Hand, the *Canon* cou'd not entirely put a Stop to this pretended Evil.

Five Years after, *Corbet* Archbishop of *Canterbury* summon'd another *Council*, wherein they imagin'd they had found out an admirable Expedient to cause the *Canons* relating to this Particular to be strictly observ'd. This was, to put the Execution of them in the King's Hands, who very readily took the Trouble upon him. But 'twas purely with a View to increase his Revenues by selling to the Priests a Dispensation to keep their Wives. Accordingly we find Abundance of the inferior *Clergy* married in *England*, after the Priests of other Countries had submitted to the *Pope's* Decree.

The Pope's Legates. *Celibacy* was not the only Point whereby the Court of *Rome* exasperated the *English Clergy*. To reduce them to an entire Obedience to the *Pope*, another Expedient was set on Foot, which at first was not minded, but in the End drew terrible Consequences after it. This was the frequent sending of *Legates*. During the Empire of the *Saxon* and *Danish* Kings, we find very rarely any Instances of the *Pope's* sending *Legates* into *England*. Altho' they had in those Days form'd the Project of becoming absolute in the *Church*, they had not yet bethought themselves

selves of this Means, which they made use of so successfully afterwards. Perhaps they durst not put it in Practice too frequently, for fear of alarming the *Metropolitans*, whom it was necessary to gain to their Obedience first by other Methods. In those Days, the Archbishops of *Canterbury*, as *Primates of the Church of England*, were look'd upon as the natural *Legates of the Popes*, who generally entrusted them with the Execution of their Orders. But as they had for the most part two opposite Things to manage, namely, the Interest of the *Church of England*, and, That of the *Pope*, and as these very often clash'd one with another, it frequently fell out that they gave the Preference to the former. This was the Reason that the *Popes* sought so earnestly Opportunities of sending other *Legates*, who might have no other Views but their Master's Interest. Accordingly, when in the Reign of *Offa King of Mercia*, the Business was to erect *Lichfield* into an Archbishoprick, the Pope laid hold on that Opportunity. As it was not proper to commission the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in that Case, whom they design'd to deprive of Part of his Jurisdiction, the Court of *Rome* easily obtain'd the King of *Mercia's* Consent to receive *Italian Legates*, in order to bring the Matter to a good Issue. This first Instance however was not follow'd by any other till the time of *Edward the Confessor*, that is, for above 250 Years. In the Reign of that Prince, *Stigand*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, lying under the *Church's* Censures, the Pope took Occasion from thence to send into *England* two *Legates*, to execute a Commission, which *Stigand* cou'd not be charg'd with. *William the Conqueror*, wanting to get rid of this same *Stigand* and some other Bishops that were troublesome to him, sent himself for *Legates*, to preside at a *Council*, wherein he design'd to have these Prelates depos'd. 'Tis thus that Princes, to gratify their Passions, have all along been subservient to the Growth of the *Papal Power*, without troubling themselves about the Consequences of it. We find moreover that in the same Reign, *Gregory VII.* sent a *Legate* into *England* call'd *Hubert*, But as this was done on Account of some Political Affairs,

the

the *English* were not alarm'd at it, never imagining that such a *Legateship* cou'd any Ways tend to their Prejudice. But the Court of *Rome* had other Thoughts of the Matter. In Process of Time, these few *Precedents* were deem'd a sufficient Ground to build a Right upon of sending *Legates*, whenever the Pope shou'd think fit. This Right however lay dormant during the Reigns of the two *Williams*, the Temper and Character of these Princes affording the *Popes* no room to hope for Success in their Attempts to put it in Practice.

Henry I. was hardly warm in his Throne, when the Pope sent *Guido* Archbishop of *Vienne* to reside at *London*, with a *Legantine* Power over all *Great-Britain*. The *Clergy* of *England* look'd upon this Commission as a striking at their Privileges, neither cou'd the King and *Council* be prevail'd upon by former *Precedents* to allow the *Legate* to exercize any Part of his Function in the Kingdom. *Alford* the Jesuit, who has writ the *Ecclesiastical History of England*, plainly perceiving the great Difficulty of reconciling this Refusal with the Pope's Authority, is forc'd to have Recourse to a precarious Supposition in order to clear this Point. He will have it that the *Legate's* Commission was rejected, because his *Powers* were not penn'd with a *Non obstante* to the Privileges of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But as he cités no Authorities to make good his Assertion, we are not oblig'd to believe him on his bare Word. *Cardinal Baronius* gets over this Affair more dexterously, by taking no Notice at all of this *Legateship*.

Henry I. had some further Contests with the Court of *Rome* upon the same Occasion. *Paschal II.* having sent into *France* a *Legate*, call'd *Cono*, this Prelate conven'd several *Councils*, at which he pretended that the Bishops of *Normandy* were oblig'd to be present; upon their Refusing to obey his Summons, he excommunicated them. *Henry*, offended at the *Legate's* Rashness, sent the Bishop of *Exeter* to complain of it to the Pope. In all likelihood he had some Satisfaction made him, since the Historian, who mentions this Particular, says not a Word of the Success of the Embassy.

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In the Year 1116 King *Henry* being in *Normandy*, Abbot *Anselm*, Nephew to the Archbishop of the same Name, came to him and produc'd a Commission from the Pope for *Legate* in *England*. But the King wou'd not suffer him to pass over thither in that Character. The *English* Bishops, whom the King consulted on that Occasion, unanimously declar'd, that this *Legateship* was destructive of the Privileges of the *Church of England*. They desir'd the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, as the Person most concern'd in this Matter, to wait upon the King with their Answer, and in case the King shou'd think proper, to go on to *Rome* to remonstrate against these Encroachments. The Archbishop accordingly prepar'd for a Journey to *Rome*. But he stopp'd short on the Road, being inform'd that the Pope, hard press'd by the Arms of the Emperor, was retir'd to *Beneventum*. He contented himself therefore with acquainting him, by a Letter, with what he design'd to have told him by Word of Mouth. The Circumstances of Pope *Paschal's* Affairs at that time wou'd not permit him to insist on his pretended Right, as he wou'd no doubt have done at any other time. He was unwilling to disoblige the *English*: but on the other Side, he cou'd not resolve to give up the Privilege of sending *Legates*, when he shou'd judge it necessary. He chose therefore to return an ambiguous Answer, which without binding him to any thing, might afford them a seeming Satisfaction. This Answer, which was not directly to the Point, was not Satisfactory to the Bishops. But the King, laying hold on the Juncture the Pope's Affairs were in, understood it in a sense the most favorable to the *Church of England*, and prevented the *Legate* from executing his Commission. In the mean time, as he was very sensible that the Pope's Answer was couch'd in too general Terms to be able from thence to infer that he desisted from his Pretensions, he demanded a more precise one. At an interview some time after with *Calixtus II.* at *Gisors*, he very earnestly press'd the Pope on this Head: but to no Purpose. All the Satisfaction he cou'd obtain was, that the Pope gave his Word not to send any,

any more *Legates* into *England*, except in a Case of Necessity

Some Years after, *Honorius II.* sent Cardinal *John de Creme* into *England* with the Character of *Legate*. However 'twas not without a great deal of Difficulty that he was receiv'd as such, after having been made to wait a long time in *Normandy*. This *Legate* summon'd a Council at *London*, of which I have elsewhere spoken, on account of the Priest's Marriages. In his *Summons* to the Bishops, he says in exp'res words, that this *Council* was conven'd by the *Order* and *Concurrence* of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This appears by a *Citation* still extant, address'd to the Bishop of *Landaff*. Tho' the *Legate* might plainly see that his Coming was not very acceptable to the *English*, he affected in the Exercise of his Function, a haughty Demeanour, which very much increas'd their Dislike. He wou'd officiate in the Cathedral of *Canterbury* in the Place of the Archbishop, tho' he was only a *Presbyter*. In the *Council* of *London*, he order'd his Seat to be rais'd, like a sort of a Throne, above the two Archbishops and all the Nobility that were present at the *Synod*. This proud Carriage gave great offence to the *English*, who were not wont to see the Pope's *Legates* exalted so High. They openly show'd their Regret at having condescended so far to this *Legate*, well knowing of what dangerous Consequence *Precedents* were in Matters which the Court of *Rome* had any Interest in. However this did not prevent in the Reign of *Stephen*, *Alberic* Bishop of *Oftia* from being receiv'd in *England* in quality of *Legate*. *Stephen* was not firmly enough seated on his Throne to dare to disoblige the Court of *Rome*.

During this Reign, the Pope conferr'd the Dignity of *Legate* on the Bishop of *Winchester*, Brother to the King, to the Prejudice of *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Distinction occasion'd between the two Prelates a Contest, which the Court of *Rome* made great Advantage of. On this Account it was, that the two Parties frequently appeal'd to *Rome*, a Thing but very rarely practis'd

tis'd in *England* before. At length, after long Bickerings, the *Legateship* was taken from the Bishop of *Winchester* by Pope *Celestine II.* and given to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, not as his Right, but as the Free Gift of the *Holy See*. In this Manner it is that the Popes knew how to make the Best of every Thing that served to extend their Authority. It will manifestly appear in the Course of this History, that I have not without reason dwelt thus long on the Article of *Legates*: 'Twas chiefly owing that in some of the following Reigns, *England* was made liable to a thousand Disturbances by the Popes.

The Court of *Rome* wou'd no doubt have run greater Schisms^{Schisms} Lengths in her Usurpations, if the *Schisms*, which were very frequent in those Days, had not caus'd her to lose a great deal of Ground. To gain or to preserve the Obedience of the *Christian* Princes, the Popes were often fain to pass by abundance of Things, which they wou'd not have done at any other Juncture. But when they cou'd not help making Concessions to their own Disadvantage, they seldom fail'd of adding some *ambiguous Clauses*, by the Means of which they explain'd them in their own Favour, at a more proper Season: I have related an Instance of This in *Calixtus II.* when he promis'd to send no more *Legates* into *England*, except in *Cases of Necessity*: For the Popes themselves were afterwards Judges when 'twas necessary. If all the Kings had been like the two *Williams*, they wou'd have put their own Construction upon these *Clauses*. But as some of them were *weak*, or *superstitious*, and as the others, that had more Resolution and Firmness, were often embroil'd in Troubles, which oblig'd them to keep fair with *Rome*, the Popes never fail'd of taking the Advantage of these Junctures. We are now going to see in what Manner the four first *Norman* Kings behav'd with regard to the *Pope*, during the *Schisms* which happen'd in their Reigns:

England had acknowledg'd *Gregory VII.* who came to the *Papacy* in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*. And yet the Election of the Antipope *Clement III.* was no sooner over, but *William* resolv'd to stand *Neither*, till the

Baron.

Ann. 1092.

Affair was decided. On Account of this *Schism* it was, that he forbade his Subjects to own any Pope without his Leave. This Neutrality of the *English* evidently appears from *Lanfranc's Answer to Cardinal Hugo Candidus*, who sollicited him to side with *Clement III.* The Letter runs thus in *Baroniis.*

“ I receiv'd your Letter, but can by no means approve
 “ of some Part of the *Contents*. Your Invectives against
 “ *Gregory*, whom you affect to call *Hildebrand*, and the
 “ odd Names you give his *Legates*, is what I don't under-
 “ stand. On the other Hand, your excessive Commen-
 “ dations of *Clement*, and the extraordinary Character
 “ you give him, is carrying Matters too far. It is writ-
 “ ten, *We are not to pronounce a Man happy before his Death*,
 “ neither are we to detract from our Neighbour. The
 “ Merit of Men is a Thing that lies out of Sight : And
 “ therefore we cannot pronounce with Truth upon their
 “ future Condition. However I am perswaded that the
 “ Emperour wou'd not have embark'd in so great an Un-
 “ dertaking, without going upon good Grounds ; and
 “ that he cou'd not have prosper'd thus far, without the
 “ signal Blessing of the *Almighty*. As for the Voyage
 “ you design to take into *England*, I wou'd not advise
 “ you to it, unless the King's Leave can be first obtain'd.
 “ For as yet we have not entirely disclaim'd *Gregory*, nor
 “ declar'd for his Competitor. But when the Causè of both
 “ Sides shall be throughly examin'd, we shall then be better
 “ able to come to a Resolution in the Case.

Gregory VII was succeeded by *Victor III*, who died in 1087, about a year before *William the Conqueror*. *Urban II.* was chosen in his Room, and quickly after *William Rufus* ascended the Throne of *England*, whilst the *Schism* still continued between *Urban* and *Clement*. It may be said that for some Years the *English* were without a *Pope*, since they recognis'd neither the one nor the other of the two Competitors. When *Anselm* wou'd, by his own private Authority, have own'd *Urban II.* *William* oppos'd it, 'till by a Stratagem, which I shall mention hereafter, *Urban* gain'd him over to his Obedience. This Step

Step being made, *England* remain'd under the Jurisdiction of this Pope and his Successors, *Paschal II*, *Gelasius II*, and *Honorius II*. After the Death of this last, a fresh *Schism* was set on Foot, by the double Election of *Innocent II*, and *Anacletus*. These two Popes having each their Adherents, divided all *Europe*. *Innocent* stood in need of all the Credit and Eloquence of St. *Bernard* to get himself acknowledg'd in *France*, where he had a strong Party against him. It was a long while before this Kingdom as well as *England* declar'd for either of the Rivals, so very difficult was it to judge which of them had the best Title. Each alledg'd his Reasons, which serv'd rather to destroy his Adversary's, than establish his own Right. We may easily guess, that whilst People were in this Uncertainty about the true Pope, they had Recourse to neither: The which makes a *Gap* or *Chasm* very puzzling to such as maintain that the *Church* can't possibly make Shift without a *Pope*.

If the Popes lost Ground by these *Schisms*, the Loss Crusades. was amply made up by the *Crusades*, which furnish'd them with Opportunities of extending their Authority. 'Tis not to my Purpose to examine here what Right the Christian Princes of *Europe* had to *Palestin*, which the *Saracens* had conquer'd from the Emperors of *Constantinople*. It suffices to say, that the Project of wresting from the Hands of the *Infidels* the Country bedew'd with the Blood of Christ, seem'd so noble and meritorious, that all the Princes of *Christendom* took a Pride in helping it on with their Wealth, and Troops, and some with their Persons. The People in Imitation of their Sovereigns, blindly engag'd in this Undertaking upon *Peter the Hermit's* * setting forth the Miseries to which the Christians in *Palestin* were expos'd under the Empire of the *Saracens*. *Urban II.*

* He was a French Priest, and had travell'd in Pilgrimage to the *Holy Land*, where he was extremely affected with the Miseries the Christians endur'd. He pretended that our Saviour appear'd to him in a Dream, and commanded him to go and engage the *Western Christians* to undertake their Deliverance, promising him Succes.

was the first that laid the Scheme of uniting all the Christians in *Europe* in a Confederacy to deliver their Brethren in the *East* from Servitude, and to that Purpose, preach'd up in 1095, the first *Crusade* at the *Council of Clermont*. His Exhortations made so wonderful an Impression on his Hearers, that in a short Time was seen marching towards the *Holy Land* a prodigious Army, the Success of which is known to all the World. The *Saracens* were driven out of *Palestine*, and a Christian Kingdom founded, which lasted not above fourscore and ten years. The *Infidels* becoming Masters of the Country again, the Popes never ceas'd stirring up the *Christians* to recover what the *Church* had lost in that Quarter of the World. This occasion'd several fresh *Crusades*, which procur'd the Popes many Priviledges. In the first Place, as they declar'd themselves the *Heads* of these Expeditions, they took into their Protection all those that were willing to embark in them. By this Means they had an Opportunity of intermeddling in all Affairs, their being few of any Moment, but what some one of the *Croises* was concern'd in. In the second Place, as these Expeditions cou'd not be undertaken without an immense Expence, the *Popes* made them a Handle to impose on the *Clergy*, under the name of *Tenths*, Taxes, of which they had the sole Disposal. In the next Place, after once they were in possession of the Privilege of publishing a *Crusade*, whenever they thought fit, they drew a Consequence from thence of which they made great Use. They pretended that the Extirpation of *Hereticks* tended as much to the Glory of God as that of Infidels. Now as they assum'd to themselves the Power of judging what was *Heresy*, the moment any Prince offer'd to make a stand against their Encroachments, they presently pronounc'd him *Heretick*, excommunicated him, and publish'd a *Crusade* against him. Of this we shall meet with several remarkable Instances in the Course of this History. It is no wonder then that the *Popes* stirr'd up and formented this *Frenzick* Zeal for *Crusades*, since they turn'd it so much to their Advantage, Thanks be to God, the blind and inconsiderate Ardour of Christi-

Christians on this Score has been extinguish'd several Ages since,

In Proportion to the Growth of the Pope's Authority, The Councils during the four Reigns, the Power of the Bishops, Archbishops, Provincial or National Synods, visibly decreas'd. The Reason is, because their Decrees and Canons were liable to be made null and void upon the least Appeal to the Pope. Accordingly in the Interval I am now going thro', we meet with but very few *Councils* worth taking Notice of.

The First was held at *Winchester* in 1070. *Hermannfred*, Bishop of *Cisteron*, *John* and *Peter*, Cardinal Priests, presid'd as the Pope's Legates. As nothing of Moment was transacted in this *Synod* besides the depriving *Stigand* and Synod of Winchester. some other Bishops, it is needless to say any more of it. I shall only take Occasion from this Council to remark, that in those days a *Bishop* had the Pre-eminence of a *Cardinal*, since in the *Acts* of this *Synod*, the Bishop of *Cisteron* is always nam'd before the Cardinals his Colleagues.

In 1095, *Lanfranc* call'd a *Synod* at *London*, wherein it was ordain'd, that for the Time to come, Provincial and Council of London. Diocesan Synods shou'd be held more frequently, the Use of them having been intermitted ever since the Conquest. The Precedency of the *Sees* was also regulated by the Decrees of the VIth Council of *Toledo* and some others, and every Prelate was to take Place according to the Priority of his Ordination. It was agreed, that at *Councils*, the Archbishop of *York* shou'd be seated on the *Right*, and the Bishop of *London* on the *Left* Hand of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Bishop of *Winchester* next the Archbishop of *York*. Some *Canons* were also pass'd, the most remarkable are as follow,

The Vth forbids all Persons, Bishops and Abbots excepted, to speak in the *Councils* without Leave from the President.

By the VIth, Marriage is prohibited to the seventh Degree, for which the Authority of *Gregory the Great* is vouch'd. But we have seen that according to the Testimony of *Bede*, this Pope in his Answers to *Austin's* Questi-

Questions limits the Prohibition to the second Degree only.

The VIIth is against *Simony*. This *Canon* for some Time had pass'd in all the *Councils*. In all Appearance this Dis-order was become very common; or perhaps 'twas in order to prepare the *Clergy* to receive the Prohibition of taking the *Investiture of Benefices* from the Hands of Laymen, to which *Simony* serv'd as a Pretence.

The VIIIth is levell'd against *Sorcery* and *Divination*, and the like superstitious Practices.

By the XIth no *Ecclesiastick* is to give his Vote to sentence a Person to dye, or to lose his Limbs.

In the following year 1076, the same Archbishop conven'd a *Synod* on Account of the Priest's Marriages.

In 1094, a *Synod* was held at *Rockingham* on Occasion of the Contest between *William Rufus* and *Anselm*.

Eight years after, in 1102, in the Reign of *Henry I*, *Anselm* summon'd a *national Synod*, to which the *Temporal* Lords were invited, to be *Witnesses* of the Proceedings, Some *Canons* were pass'd, the Principal of which are :

The 1st against *Simony*.

The IVth forbids *Archdeacons*, *Priests*, *Deacons*, and *Canons* to marry, or to live with their Wives already married. This was the first general Prohibition against the *English* Priests keeping their Wives, the which was disapproved of by a great many People.

By the VIth, Sons of Priests were not to succeed to their Father's Churches.

The IXth enjoins the Priests to have open *Crowns*, that the *Tonsure* might be the more apparent.

The XIIIth forbids the Abbots to make *Knights*, tho' they had till then enjoy'd that Privilege.

The XIVth declares all Promises of Marriage made without *Witness* to be void, in case either of the Parties denies the Engagement.

The XVth forbids *Mönks* or *Nuns* to be Godfathers or Godmothers.

The XVIIth confirms the Prohibition of marrying within the seventh Degree.

The

Rocking-ham Synod.

National Synod at London.

The XVIIIth forbids the Burying the Dead out of their Parish.

The XIXth thunders out *Anathema's* against such as sold Men like Horses. Notwithstanding this *Canon*, the Lords of *Mannors* still retain'd the Right of *Villainage*, that is, of selling their *Villains*, who were consider'd as a Sort of Slaves *.

The XXth was against *Sodomy*. 'Tis remarkable, that it never came into their Heads to make *Canons* against this Crime, till the *Clergy* were oblig'd to *Celibacy*, it being scarce heard of in *England* before.

I have spoken elsewhere of the Council held in 1125, on the Score of the Priests Marriages, in which Cardinal *John de Crema* presid'd.

In 1127 *William Corbet*, Archbishop of *Canterbury* The Council at Westminster. held a Synod at *Westminster*, wherein he presid'd as the Pope's Legate. The most considerable of the *Canons* that were pass'd are These :

The IIId forbids the taking Money for the receiving *Monks* and *Nuns* into *Religious Houses*.

The VIth forbids a *Plurality* of Archdeacons, under the Penalty of Excommunication.

The VIIth makes it unlawful for *Ecclesiasticks* to turn *Farmers*.

The VIIIth enjoins the exact Payment of *Tithes*, and calls them, *the Demesnes of the most High*.

In 1138, *Alberic*, the Pope's Legate, conven'd a *Synod* of 17 Bishops and 30 Abbots. But this which was summon'd only to chuse an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and several others, in the Reign of *Stephen*, assembled on some Political Account, have nothing in them worth noting.

Seeing, after the Conquest, we find the Names of some *Bishopricks* to disappear, and others unknown in the *Saxon* Times to come in their Room, will not be improper just *Ones of the Sees*.

In

* See Note p. 153.

In 1075, the See of *Sherborn* was remov'd to *Salisbury*: That of *Selsey* to *Chichester*, and That of *Lichfield* to *Chester*.

In 1092, in the Reign of *William Rufus*, the See of *Durchofster* was remov'd to *Lincoln*, and the See of *Wells* to *Bath*. The Popes were not well pleas'd with these Removals, being done without asking their Leave. *Paschal II.* loudly complain'd of it to *Henry I.* but as there was then a *Schism* on Foot, he durst not push the matter any further.

*Ely made
a Bishop's
See;*

*and Car-
lisle.*

*A Project
of erecting
Winchel-
ter into an
Arch-bis-
hoprick.*

In 1108, in the Reign of *Henry I.* *Ely-Monastery* was erected into a Bishoprick, with the Approbation of the Pope, and Consent of the Bishop of *Lincoln*, who resign'd up Part of his *Dioceſe*, in order to have it chang'd into this new Bishoprick.

In this same Reign *Carlisle*, call'd by the *Romans*, *La-
guballia*, which had been destroyed by the *Danes*, and re-
built by *William Rufus*, was made an *Episcopal See*, *Adel-
wale* being the first Bishop. This *Dioceſe* was taken from that of *Durham*.

We find in *Anglia-Sacra* and the History of the Church of *Winchester* by *Rudburn*, that in 1144, Pope *Lucius* sent the *Pall* to the Bishop of *Winchester* Brother to King *Stephen*, with a Design to erect that *See* into an *Archbishoprick*, and annex to it the seven *Dioceſes* of the Kingdom of *Wefsex*. But this Proceeding being generally dislik'd, and the Bishop, fearing he shou'd meet with too strong an Opposition, put off till another Time the Execution of his Project, which came to nothing by the Death of *Lucius*.

Abbies.

Battle-Abbey was founded by *Williams the Conqueror*, as hath been related in his Life. In 1101, *Henry I.* founded the Monastery of *Clarkenwell*, and the Priory of *St. John of Jerusalem*. The Abbey of *Reading* was also of this King's Founding.

*New Or-
ders of
Monks.*

Towards the End of the 11th or in the Beginning of the 12th Century, were instituted the *Orders* of the *Carthusians**, *Cister-*

* So call'd from *Chartreux* in *Grenoble*, where they were first estab-
lish'd

*Cistercians** and *Premonstratenses*** who afterwards settled in *England*. To these may be added the *Regular Canons* reform'd by *Ivo of Chartres* in 1098 **.

Amongst the remarkable Occurrences in the *Church* during the four Reigns we are going thro', the famous Controversy about the *Holy Eucharist* is by no means to be pass'd over in Silence. Tho' it made not so much Noise in *England* as it did in *France*; yet as it is a Point wherein the whole *Church* was and still is greatly concern'd, 'twill not be improper to give a brief Account of the Rise and Progress of this Dispute.

Towards the latter End of the Eighth Century, *Pachacius Radbert*, a Monk of *Carbey*, had publish'd a Treatise, wherein he asserted that the *Bread* in the *Eucharist* was the *same Body* of Christ that was born of the *Virgin*, and that the *Wine* was the *same Blood* which was shed on the *Cross*. This Opinion seem'd to be entirely *New* to several learned Men, who vigorously and sharply wrote against him. *Johannes Scotus*, Sirnam'd *Erigena*, that is, of *Irish Extraction*, *Raban* Archbishop of *Mentz*, and *Bertram* the Monk, were the principal Opposers of this Doctrine. On the other Side, there were some that wrote in its Defence. Without entering into the Arguments

blis'h'd in 1086 by one *Bruno of Cologn*, Canon of *Rheims*. They are said to settle in *England* in 1180. They follow'd St. *Bennet's* Rule.

* They had their Name from *Cistercium* or *Citeaux* in the Diocese of *Chalons*, where they first assembled under *Harding an Englishman*, in 1097. St. *Bernard* was soon after receiv'd into their Society, whence they were stil'd *Bernardines*. These refin'd also upon St. *Bennet's* Rule. They came hither in 1128, and were first settled in the Abbey of *Waverly* in *Surrey*.

** This Order was founded by St. *Norbert* of a Noble Family in *Cologn*, in 1120, at a Place said to be pointed out to him by the *Blessed Virgin*, thence call'd *Premonstratum*, that is, *Foreshown*. They were brought into *England* in 1146 and settled at *Newhouse* in *Lincolnshire*. They follow'd the *Rule* of St. *Augustin*.

** The *Canons* were distinguish'd into *Regular* and *Secular*, the First reforming upon the Last, gave them that Name by way of Reproach. They pretended to receive their *Rules* from St. *Augustin*.

of both Parties, I shall content my self with making two Remarks on this Dispute. The First is, that, if *Christians* had all along been of *Paschasius's* Opinion, 'tis hard to conceive, why so many Persons of Learning shou'd have look'd upon his Doctrine as a *Novelty*. In the second Place, it must be confess, that *Paschasius's* Notion prevail'd in such a Manner over the other, after the VIIIth Century, that when the Controversy was reviv'd, 200 Years after, the Doctrine contrary to *Paschasius's* had generally the Imputation of *Novelty* fix'd upon it.

This Dispute being at length dropp'd, either because People were tir'd with it, or because their Minds were taken up with other Matters, it lay dormant for near 200 Years. In 1035, *Berengarius*, Archdeacon of *Angers*, who had a great Character for his *Learning*, perceiving that *Paschasius's* Opinion gain'd ground, attempted to put a Stop to its Progress. He publish'd a quite contrary Doctrine, and was suffer'd to go on in it for 12 or 15 Years, without any Opposition. The First that attack'd him was, *Adelman* a Prebend of *Liege*, and afterwards *Bedwin* Bishop of the same Church, who endeavour'd to make him alter his Sentiments.

*Basnage
Hist. de l'
Eglise.*

In the mean time, *Berengarius* held a Correspondence with *Lanfranc*, who was then Abbot of St. Stephen's in *Caen*. The Subject of their Letters ran upon the Nature of the *Eucharist*. *Lanfranc* maintain'd *Paschasius's* Opinion, and *Berengarius*, on the contrary, vindicated the Doctrine that he himself had lately publish'd. One of *Berengarius's* Letters happening to fall into the Hands of Pope *Leo IX* *, he thought fit to call a *Council* upon that Account. *Berengarius* was condemn'd for differing from the Common Opinion, and for alledging, in his Letter, the same Arguments that *Scotus* had formerly made use of against *Paschasius*. *Lanfranc*, who was present at the *Synod*, was oblig'd to purge himself of the Suspicion of holding too close a Correspondence with this pretended *Heretic*.

* 'Twas directed to *Lanfranc* in *Normandy*; but he being gone to *Rome*, 'twas sent, by some Adversary, to the Pope.

Heretick. However, as *Berengarius* had been condemned unheard, the Pope held another *Synod* at *Verceil*, and summon'd him to appear. He came not in Person, but sent two *Ecclesiasticks* to make his Defence, who, as *Lanfranc* testifies, gave up their Master's Cause. *Berengarius* then was condemn'd a second time, and *Scotus*'s Book, from whence he had borrow'd his Arguments, was involv'd in the same *Sentence*. Instead of submitting to the Decisions of these two *Synods*, *Berengarius* went on in the Justification of *Scotus*, and dropp'd some Satirical Expressions against *Paschasius*, the Pope, and the Church of *Rome*. His Arguments appear'd so convincing, that several openly declar'd for his Opinion, and even wrote in his Defence. 'Tis true indeed all those *Writings* were suppress'd: but the Fact is for all that no less certain. An antient Author remarks, that all *France* was in a Combustion on account of *Berengarius*, abundance of learned Men disputing for and against him both by Word of Mouth and in Writing.

The Doctrine of *Berengarius* must needs have spread it self in several Places, since *Victor II*, *Leo*'s Successor, thought it necessary to hold another *Council* at *Tours*, to decide this Controversy. *Berengarius* not being able to avoid appearing at this *Synod* held in his Neighbourhood, 'tis given out, that he durst not maintain his Opinion, but acquiesc'd in the Sentiments of the two former *Councils*. But we have only his Adversaries Word for this. However, if he did recant, he repented of it afterwards, and contintued, as before, to maintain his Opihion. Upon which he was cited by *Stephen X.* to a *Council* held at *Rome* in 1059. *Berengarius* appear'd, and if we may believe the Historians we have left, the greatest Part of whom were his bitter Enemies, he durst not defend his Cause. He even subscrib'd a *Writing*, wherein they make him say, that the Body of Jesus Christ was handled in a sensible Manner by the Priests, and ground by the Teeth of the Communicants. And afterwards, they compell'd him by their Threats, to burn with his own Hand's *Scotus*'s Book, from whence they pretended he had fuck'd his

Errors. It must be observ'd, tho' some have affirm'd that he durst not defend his Cause, there are Others who assure us, that he disputed a good while with *Lanfranc* and *Alberic* a Monk of *Monte Cassin*. However, his signing the *Writing* was not so much owing to his Adversaries Arguments, as to his being overaw'd by their Threats. *You did not do it*, (says *Lanfranc* to him in one of his Letters) *for the sake of Truth, but to avoid the Death you were threatened with*. Accordingly we find afterwards that his *Heart* consented not to what his *Hand* had done, since, notwithstanding his many Recantations, he went on in his old Opinion, to his dying day.

* 1063. In 1073 * a Council was held at *Roan* upon the same Account, and another at *Poictiers*, in 1075. *Berengarius* was present at the latter of these, and ran some risk of losing his Life, the which serv'd only to give him a worse Opinion of the other Party. At least *Gregory VII.* being come to the *Papacy*, and having a Mind wholly to put an End to this Controversy, which was so often renew'd, held a Council at *Rome* in 1079. Before the Opening of the *Synod*, he proclaim'd a *Fast* for 30 Days, in order to beseech God, that he wou'd be pleas'd to grant this Council the *Grace* to find out the Truth. 'Tis somewhat strange, that after so many Decisions, conformable, as they pretend, to the Doctrine of the *Church* in all Ages, they shou'd still be in Suspence what to believe in this Matter. *Berengarius* made his Appearance, and sign'd a Recantation more full and explicite than any of the former ones. He declares, that the *Bread and Wine in the Sacrament*, are substantially chang'd, by the miraculous Operation of the Words of our Saviour, into the true, visible, and living Body of Jesus Christ, not Figuratively, and *Sacramentally*, but truly, properly, and substantially. This Recantation was as far from causing him to alter his Mind, as those he had made before. This appears from his being cited once more to a Council at *Bordeaux*, where he appear'd and was condemn'd. He pass'd the rest of his Life in Retirement [near *Tours*] where he died in peace in 1088.

These Particulars afford Matter for several Reflections. *Reflections
on this Dis-
pute.*
In the first Place, If the Doctrine of *Berengarius* was manifestly contrary to the Belief of the *Universal Church*, ever since the time of the Apostles, one can't but be surpris'd; that there shou'd be Occasion for so many *Councils* on this Score. In the second Place, the summoning so great a Number of *Councils*, is a clear Evidence that *Berengarius's* Opinion was spread far and wide, since so much Pains were taken to stop its Progress. 3. 'Tis no less to be wonder'd at, that neither *Berengarius* nor any of the Bishops and other Ecclesiasticks his Friends, were ever *depriv'd*. If *Berengarius* had sincerely recanted, 'twou'd be no hard Matter to gues at the Reason of his being so favourably dealt with by the *Popes* and *Councils*. But, besides that his frequent Recantations might make it to be fairly presum'd, that the *Last* was no more sincere than his former ones, there are very strong Proofs of his dying in his old Opinion. And indeed, notwithstanding his recanting, *Lanfranc* look'd upon him all along as one engag'd in *Schism*. An Anonymous Author, who wrote eight Years after his last Recantation, treats him as a *Heretick**. An evident Sign, that he went out of the World in his pretended Error. 'Tis true *Malmsbury* affirms, that *Berengarius* died a *Catholick*, that is, in the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome*. But he was led into this Mistake, either by believing his last Recantation real, or from the honorable *Epitaph Hildebrand*, Bishop of *Mans*, made for him after his Death **. Without doubt *Malmsbury*, who has inserted this *Epitaph* in his History, cou'd not imagine that a Bishop wou'd give so great Commendations of a Man that was actually a *Heretick*.

Lastly, It may be further observ'd, that altho' the Account we have of *Berengarius* is from his Adversaries, yet several of them cou'd not forbear mentioning the prodigious Progress of his Doctrine in *Germany*, *Italy*, and particularly in *France*. As for *England*, 'tis no Wonder, that

* *Baronius* calls him a *Rotten Heretick*.

** He gives him a great Character for his *Learning* and *Morals*.

that this Controversy made less Noise there than in other Countries. The *Revolution* that had just then happen'd in their Island, kept the Minds of the *English* intent upon other Matters. I shall close my Remarks with observing, that the frequent Recantations of *Berengarius* were extremely prejudicial to his Doctrine. In an Age like that, few Persons being capable of judging for themselves in so intricate a Case, *Example* and *Precedent* sway'd the Minds of Men more in this Matter than Knowledge and Conviction. Now it is certain, to all outward Appearance, *Berengarius* seem'd to be in the Wrong, by reason of the Care that was taken to give out, that he recanted not till after he was convinc'd of his Error. Not a Word was said of the Threats that extorted his Recantations, tho' nothing was more certain, as appears by the Testimony of *Lanfranc* himself, taken Notice of above.

Most noted Ecclesiasticks.

To finish what I have to say concerning the State of the *Church*, during the Reigns of the first four *Norman* Kings, nothing remains but to subjoin a brief Account of the most noted Bishops and other *Ecclesiasticks*.

Aldred.

Aldred, Archbishop of *York*, who crown'd *William the Conqueror*, was a good and pious Prelate. He had been Bishop of *Glocester*, where he built the *Cathedral*. Afterwards he purchas'd several Estates, and annex'd them to his Archbischoprick. He was likewise a great Benefactor to the Abbey of *Beverly*.

Altho' *Stigand*, according to the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, intruded himself into the Archiepiscopal See of *Canterbury*, and was upon that account suspended by the Pope, yet he perform'd the Functions of a *Metropolitan*, during the Reigns of *Edward*, and *Harold*. If *William the Conqueror* refus'd to be crown'd by his Hand, 'twas purely to avoid a Rupture with the Court of *Rome*, for otherwise he treated that Prelate at first with a great deal of Distinction. When *Stigand* attended him into *Normandy*, the *Clergy* there, without regarding the Pope's *Censures*, paid him all the Respect due to his Rank and Dignity. In Proces of time, the *Conqueror* had quite other thoughts of him, and got him depriv'd by

by the Council of Winchester. As soon as this Prelate was outed of all his Preferments, the King having no Manner of Regard for him any longer, threw him into Prison, in order to bring him to a Discovery where he had conceal'd his Treasures, which were very considerable. But Nothing being able to wrest this Secret from him, he ended his days in Prison. After he was dead, they found Brompton about his Neck a little Key with a Note, which directed to the Place where his Money was lodg'd, which was all feiz'd to the King's Use,

Marianus Scotorum, born in *Scotland* in 1028, being arriv'd at thirty Years of Age, retir'd to a Monastery at *Cologn*. He was afterwards remov'd to the Abbey of *Fuise*, where he wrote a general History of *Europe* from the *Creation* to the Year of our Lord 1082. He died four Years after in 1086. The *Scotch* were at that time very well receiv'd in *Germany*, where a Prince of that Nation, that had serv'd under *Charlemain*, had founded 15 Monasteries, whose Abbots were to be all *Scotchmen*.

Wulstan, Bishop of *Worcester*, had a great Character for *Wulstan*, his Piety, which some have carried too far. 'Tis pretended he wrought several Miracles as well in his Life-time as after his Death. It appears however that *Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury* had no great Opinion of this Prelate's Merit, since he wou'd have got him depriv'd by a *Synod* for Insufficiency and want of Learning. This makes it suspected that *Wulstan*'s chiefest Quality was his great Plainness and Simplicity, which they wou'd put off upon us for an extraordinary *Sanctity*. *Malansbury*, who has writ his Life, relates a Particular, which plainly shows this Prelate had no small conceit of his own Merit. As the Monks, who stood by at his Death, express'd great Sorrow for the Loss of him, he comforted them by assuring them, that they shou'd have in him a more powerful *Patron* and Friend after he was dead than whilst he was alive.

Lanfranc, whom I have had Occasion to mention so often, was born at *Pavia*. After he had finish'd his *Studies*,

Studies, he turn'd Monk, and pitch'd upon the Abbey of *Bec* in *Normandy*, where he taught *Logick*, and gain'd a great Reputation. His frequent reproaching the rest of the *Fraternity* for their Ignorance, was the Cause of his making his Fortune. The Monks having preferr'd a Complaint against him to *William the Bastard*, who was then only Duke of *Normandy*, he was oblig'd to go to Court to purge himself. In his Conversation with the Duke, that Prince was so charm'd with his Merit, that instead of punishing him, as his Accusers expected, he made him Abbot of St. *Stephen's* at *Caen*, from whence he afterwards promoted him to the *See of Canterbury*. *Lanfranc's* Credit, which was very great in the *Conqueror's* Reign, fell to decay under *William Rufus*, tho' it was by his Interest that he made his way to the Throne. His Death, which happen'd soon after in 1089, fav'd him, it may be, a great deal of Trouble and Vexation. He rebuilt the Church of *Canterbury*, which had been burnt by the *Danes* in Archbishop *Elphegus's* time, and fix'd the Number of the Monks of St. *Augustin* at 150, which before was not limited. He gave them also a *Prior*, instead of a *Chorepiscopus*. A famous Tryal, wherein he got the better of *Odo*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and Earl of *Kent*, put him in possession of 25 *Manours*, which that Bishop had seiz'd upon. He pass'd for a great Statesman as well as for an able and learned *Divine*. His *Commentary* on St. *Paul's Epistles*, and his *Ecclesiastical History*, which is not extant, were Works of great Repute. But of all his *Writings*, his Treatise against *Berengarius*, concerning the *Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Sacrament*, was the most remarkable. Notwithstanding this Testimony of the Conformity of his Sentiments to those of the *Roman Church*, *Gregory VII* wou'd fain have oblig'd him to come to *Rome* and give an Account of his *Faith*. He even gave him to understand, after several *Summons*, that he shou'd be suspended, in case he came not to *Rome* within four Months. But *Lanfranc* never went, tho' he had time enough to have taken the Journey, seeing he did not die till eight Years after.

Anselm,

Anselm, who had been Abbot of *Bec* before he was Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, was the most famous of all the *English* Bishops, by reason of his Disputes with *William Rufus* and *Henry I.* The first of these Contests being of little Consequence, and having already taken Notice of what is material in it, I shall content my self with relating one Circumstance, which shows Pope *Urban's* Address to get himself own'd in *England*.

Clement the Anti-Pope being still alive when *Urban II.* was chosen, *England* refus'd to acknowledge either of them for Pope. In the mean time, *Anselm* falling at Variance with *William Rufus*, openly declar'd for *Urban*, contrary to the King's Will and Pleasure. As their Quarrel grew higher and higher, the King sought the Means how to humble him. To this Purpose, he let *Urban* understand, that if he wou'd send him the *Pall* design'd for *Anselm*, that the Arch-bishop might be oblig'd to receive it from him, he wou'd get him own'd for Pope in *England*. *Urban* liking the Proposal, sent over the Bishop of *Alba*, to do as the King desir'd. However the *Nuncio*, without saying a Word to the King of his having brought the *Pall*, only told him, that the Pope was ready to comply with his Request, provided *England* wou'd acknowledge his Authority. Upon the Assurance of this, the King perform'd his Engagement. But when he had done this, and wanted to have *Anselm's* *Pall* in his Disposal, the *Nuncio* told him, that the Thing was impracticable, because *Anselm* refus'd to receive the *Pall* from the Hands of a *Layman*. In this Manner was the King impos'd upon, and forc'd to agree, that the Archbishop shou'd take up the *Pall* himself from the Altar, where the *Nuncio* had laid it [by Consent.] He never forgave the Archbishop who, as has been related, was oblig'd to go to *Rome*, and afterwards to retire to *Lyons*, where he remain'd till the King's Death.

During *Anselm's* stay at *Rome*, he was present at a *Council*, where it was decreed, that all *Ecclesiasticks*, who for the time to come receiv'd the *Investiture* of their *Benefices* from the *Hands* of a *Layman*, shou'd be excommunicated. Contest between Henry and Anselm about Investitures.

nicated. 'Twas in obedience to this Decree, that after his Return into *England* by *Henry*'s own Sollicitations, he refus'd to do Homage to that Prince, and to consecrate the Bishops that had been invested by the King. This Non-compliance was the Ground of a more important Dispute than what he had been engag'd in with *William Rufus*, since the Point in question was a *Prerogative*, which the Kings of *England* had been long posses'd of. However *Henry*, being willing to act with Caution, at a Time when the Court of *Rome* was grown very formidable by having got the Better of the Emperor, consented that *Anselm* shou'd send *Agents* to *Rome*, whilst he himself dispatch'd Ambassadors thither to plead his Cause, and perswade the Pope to leave him in peaceable Possession of his Right. *Paschal II.* sent Word, that he cou'd not grant the King a Thing which had been so expressly forbidden by several *Councils*. Notwithstanding This, *Henry*, was firmly resolv'd to stand by the Privilege he had receiv'd from his Predecessors. Accordingly, he commanded the Archbishop to do him *Homage*, and to consecrate the Bishops that had been invested after the usual Manner. *Anselm* made Answer, that he cou'd not obey the King without disobeying the Pope and the Decrees of the *Synod of Rome*, to which he himself had given his Vote. *What's this to me*, reply'd the King, *is the Synod of Rome to deprive me of the Prerogative of my Predecessors? No, I will never suffer any Person, who refuses me the Securities of a Subject, to enjoy Estates in my Dominions.* And then order'd the Archbishop to do as he requir'd, or to depart the Kingdom. *Anselm* answer'd, he cou'd do neither; but wou'd go down to *Canterbury*, and there wait God's good Pleasure. The King and Lords of the Council were shock'd at this Answer. After having debated the Matter, the Council was of Opinion, that the King shou'd not have so great Regard for *Anselm* or the Pope himself, but shou'd drive the One out of the Kingdom, and disengage himself from all Dependence on the Other. The King, not thinking it adviseable to proceed to these Extremities of his own Head, summon'd a general Assembly or Parliament. He represented

sented to them the Attempts of the Pope upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Arrogance of the Archbishop, who behav'd to him, not as a Subject but as an Equal, or rather a Superior. Upon these Complaints, the *Assembly* agreed that *Anselm* shou'd be allow'd a longer Term for Deliberation; That in the mean while the King shou'd send fresh Ambassadors to the Pope, to try to perswade him to desist in an amicable Manner from his Pretensions. The Archbishop of *York*, and two other Bishops were appointed for this Embassy, and were accompanied with two *Agents* for *Anselm*. The Ambassadors had *Instructions* to offer the Pope this *Alternative*: Either to relax in the Point of *Investitures*, or else be contented with the Banishment of *Anselm*, the Loss of the Obedience of the *English*, and of all the Profits accrewwing from thence. When these Prelates had their *Audience* of the Pope, they represented to him the Danger he expos'd himself to in Case he refus'd to comply with the King. *Paschal* made answer, that he wou'd not only lose *England*, but his *Dignity* too, rather than abate the least Jot in this Point. *Anselm's Agents* had likewise their *Audience* apart. When they departed, the Pope sent two Letters by them, one for the King, wherein he exhorted him to drop his Claim to *Investitures*, the other for *Anselm*, in which he enjoin'd him to persist in his Adherence to the *Cause* of Truth. The King, by no means relishing his Letter, wou'd not communicate it to the Lords. But *Anselm* caus'd His to be publickly read.

In the mean time, the King's Ambassadors and *Anselm's Agents* differ'd very much in their Accounts by word of Mouth. The Bishops declar'd, that the Pope, at a private *Audience*, told them, he was willing to indulge the King the Liberty of *Investitures*, provided he wou'd in return give him Satisfaction in other Points: But that he durst not openly declare so much, least other Sovereigns shou'd claim the same Privilege. *Anselm's Agents* on the contrary protested that the Pope had said nothing like it, and appeal'd for the Truth of what they asserted to the Letter he had sent the Archbishop. What they alledged had

so much the more Weight for the King's refusing to produce the Pope's Letter. However, there was no calling in Question the Testimony of the Archbishop of *York* and the two other Bishops, without charging them at the same Time with Falshood and shameful Prevarication. *Anselm* himself was something at a Stand, since they appeal'd to the Pope for the Truth of what they deliver'd. In this Uncertainty, he thought it most adviseable to prolong the Time, 'till he shou'd be better inform'd of the Pope's Intention. To this Purpose he offer'd to communicate with the Bishops who had receiv'd *Investiture* from the King, which till then he had refus'd to do, provided he shou'd not be oblig'd to consecrate them, before he had heard from the Pope. This Temper having given the King and Council some Satisfaction, he had Time allow'd him to send fresh *Agents to Rome*.

Whilst the *Agents* were at the Court of *Rome*, the King, who bore these Delays with Impatience, sent to the Archbishop, to consecrate the Three Bishops *Elect*. *Anselm* answer'd, He was ready to consecrate one of the Three, who had refus'd to be invested by the King: But as for the Others, he cou'd not do it without the Pope's Consent. Upon his declining the Office, the King command'd the Archbishop of *York* to perform the Solemnity. But the Bishops who were to be consecrated, renounc'd the Authority, and wou'd not submit to it. This Regard for the Pope provok'd the King to that Degree, that he confiscated all their Estates.

As soon as *Anselm's Agents* were return'd from *Rome*, the King went down to *Canterbury*, and sent to the Archbishop to give him Satisfaction, unless he had a mind to provoke him to new Measures. *Anselm* answer'd that he had receiv'd a Letter from the Pope, which he had not yet open'd, that he wou'd open it in his Presence, and govern himself according to the Pope's Directions. *Henry*, inrag'd at the Preference the Archbishop all along gave to the Pope's Orders, reply'd, that the Business was not to know what the Pope enjoin'd, since he was not in a Humour to submit his *Prerogatives* to his Determination.

How-

However there was nothing to be done with the Archbishop, who remain'd firm to his Resolution. At last *Henry*, having a mind to try all ways before he proceeded to other Measures, advis'd *Anselm* himself to take a Journey to *Rome*, to see if he cou'd perswade the Pope to relax. It was with much ado that he was perswaded to This. But at length he was prevail'd upon, at the Request of the Bishops and Barons, who represented to him, that the Journey cou'd not possibly do him any Difservice.

As soon as he was arriv'd in *Normandy*, he open'd the Pope's Letter, wherein he found a flat Denial of all that the King's Ambassadors had reported. However he pursued his Journey to *Rome*, where he was quickly follow'd by *William Warenwast* the King's Ambassador, who had formerly been employ'd at the Court of *Rome* by *William Rufus*. The Ambassador being admitted to Audience, represented to the Pope, that he was in danger of losing *England*, in case he persisted in endeavouring to deprive the King of his just *Prerogatives*: And added, that his Master was resolv'd rather to lose his Crown than part with the Right of *Investitures*. *And I, answer'd Paschal, will sooner lose my Life, than suffer the Church's Privileges to be thus usurped.* This so positive an Answer having entirely broken off the Negotiation, the Ambassador set forward for *England*, and *Anselm*, who durst not return to his Church, went and staid at *Lyons*.

This Attempt having fail'd, *Henry* sent another Embafsy to *Rome*. But nothing new was propos'd, it serv'd only to exasperate the Pope, who excommunicated the Earl of *Melent* and some other Lords of the Council. He even threatened *Henry* with the Church's *Censures*, but however declin'd putting them in Execution. In the mean Time, *Anselm*, perceiving the Pope dilatory in his Proceedings, grew apprehensive that he might continue in Exile a good while, and that sooner or later the Pope and King might come to an *Accommodation*, which might end in his Downfal. To prevent This, he resolv'd to ingage the Pope so deeply in the Affair, that there shou'd be no drawing back for him. To this Purpose he went and

The King
and An-
selm agree.

and made a Visit to *Adela*, Countess of *Blois*, *Henry's Sister*, and told her, that after a great deal of Patience, he must now be forc'd to excommunicate the King, unless he wou'd forthwith desist from his Pretensions. *Adela* being extremely troubled at this Menace, set about procuring an Accommodation. To this End, She desir'd the King her Brother, who was then in *Normandy*, to come to her at the Castle of *l'Aigle*, where she design'd to bring *Anselm* along with her, that they might talk the Matter over together. At this Interview, Things began, by the Means of the Countess of *Blois* to have a better Face. The King, fearing the Archbishop's Threats, treated him very civilly. *Anselm*, in return, shew'd greater Respect to the King than he had hitherto done. They had not been long together, before they perceiv'd in each other an equal Desire to put an End to the Contest in an honourable Manner. Thus dispos'd, they amicably sought the Means of making up Matters to each other's Satisfaction. As soon as they had agreed upon an Expedient, *Henry* sent *William de Warewast* to the Pope, for his Approbation. *Paschal's* Affairs were, then in such a Situation that he did not care to break with *England*. He was hard press'd by the *Germans*, who, shortly after, compell'd him to fly for Refuge into *France*. Matters therefore were accommodated upon these Terms; The King was to renounce the Right of *Investitures*, and the Pope to give the Bishops and Abbots leave to do *Homage* to the King for their *Temporalities*. Thus the Pope and King extricated themselves out of this troublesome Busineſs by a Method as just as it was natural, and which shou'd have been taken at First, if they had both acted fairly and honestly. This will evidently appear, if we impartially inquire into the State of the Question, which perhaps it mayn't be amis to do, since this Affair formerly made so great a Noife, and in which *Anselm* was so deeply concern'd.

The true
State of
the Ques-
tion.

In the first Place I shall lay down what seems to me undeniable, that ever since the Time of *Charles the Great*, Sovereign Princes had enjoy'd the Right of *Investitures* to

to Bishopricks, and Abbeys, by the Delivery of the *Ring* and *Pastoral Staff**. *Gregory VII.* was the First that attempted to deprive them of this Privilege towards the latter End of XI Century. The Popes his Successors pursued his Project with the same Earnestness. It must be confess'd, that the Kings themselves gave the *Popes* but too frequent Occasion to exclaim against their Abuse of the *re-rogative*. Under Pretence that the Bishops and Abbots cou'd not take Possession of their *Benefices* before they had receiv'd *Investiture* from them, the Princes publickly sold the Bishopricks and Abbeys to the best Bidder. I say, sold them, for altho' the *Elections* appear'd *Canonical*, yet the Sovereigns notwithstanding over-rul'd them, by having it in their Power to refuse *Investiture* to such as they did not like. This alone was sufficient to get those elected whom they recommended, there being no *Ecclesiastick* that desir'd to be a Bishop or Abbot without enjoying the *Temporalities*. It was necessary therefore, in order to be elected, to have the King's Consent, after which the Bishop or Abbot, even before *Consecration*, receiv'd *Investiture* in the Manner above-mention'd. But besides that *Simony* had too often a Place in these *Elections*, there was another Reason, which seem'd to justify the *Popes* in their Attempts, to abolish this way of *Investiture*. And that was, the Princes, by investing the *Ecclesiasticks* not in the same Manner as they did the *Laicks*, and even before their *Consecration*, seem'd as if they assum'd to themselves a Power to grant *Spiritual Jurisdiction*, the which the *Popes* represent'd as a downright usurping the *Church's Privileges*. And indeed, it must be own'd it look'd something like it, because of the two *Characters*, which were confounded in the Prelate *Elect*, namely, his *Character* as Minister of the *Church*, and his *Character* as temporal Lord of

* Sigebert of Gemblours (*ad An. 771.*) relates that Pope *Adrian I.* at a Council of 153 Bishops and Abbots, granted *Charles the Great* the Privilege of electing the *Pope*, and the Right of *Investitures*. *Baronius* and *Peter de Marca* deny the Authority of this Council, and affirm, 'twas forg'd by *Sigebert* to serve the Interest of the Emperor against *Pascal II.*

of the Lands annex'd to his Dignity. If the Popes and Princes had acted fairly, they shou'd have carefully distinguish'd between these Two; but on the contrary, both Sides thought the leaving them confounded wou'd turn to their Advantage. By that Means the Princes over-rul'd the *Elections*, and the Popes took Occasion to dispute with the Sovereigns the Right they were possess'd of. For want therefore of distinguishing in this Matter sprung up all those Contests between the Princes and Popes. The former declar'd, they wou'd never suffer any Person to take Possession of Lands held of the Crown, but what had receiv'd *Investiture* at their Hands. The Popes, on the other Hand, maintain'd that 'twas unreasonable, Princes shou'd interpose in *Elections*, or pretend to convey a *Character*, which the *Church* alone had Power to confer. Thus both Sides deviated from the true State of the Case. It was very possible that a Man might be a Bishop or Abbot without being possess'd of the Lands held of the Crown, in which Case the Prince had nothing to do. On the other hand, Princes wou'd have receiv'd no manner of Detriment from any one's conveying a *Spiritual Character* without their Consent, as long as they had it in their Power to secure themselves, before they put the Prelates in Possession of the *Temporalities*. But there was no Possibility of bringing them to that Point, in the Temper both Sides were in, of not giving Way in the least. Thus it is manifest, that the Expedient practis'd by *Paschal II.* and *Henry I.*, was very reasonable, and not at all prejudicial to the *Church's Rights* or the *King's Prerogative*. But in all Appearance, this Affair wou'd not have ended so happily, if the Pope's Circumstances had not forc'd him to relax. This may be inferr'd from his Behaviour to the Emperor upon the same Scere, to whom he cou'd never be brought to grant, what he had just yielded up to the King of *England*.

Anselm's Life and Writings. I have dwelt the longer on this Part of *Anselm's Life*, because it discovers to us the Character of this Prelate, who was honor'd with the glorious Title of *Saint*, as all were that zealously adher'd to the Court of *Rome*. He was born

born in the Year 1033, at *Aost*, a small Town in *Italy*, belonging now to the Duke of *Savoy*. At seven and twenty Years of Age, he turn'd Monk in the Abbey of *Bec*, of which *Lanfranc* was *Prior*. When *Lanfranc* was made Abbot of St. *Stephen's* at *Caen*, *Anselm* became *Prior*, and afterwards Abbot, of *Bec*, from whence he was promoted to the *See of Canterbury*. He compos'd several *Theological* Treatises, of which Father *Gerberon* publish'd the largest Edition in 1676. His Writings, according to the Testimony of Mr. *du Pin*, are full of *Metaphysical* Questions, argued with the Appearance of a great deal of *Logic*. The same Author observes, that *Anselm's* Letters are written in a less Elaborate Style than his other Works. He is also the first who compos'd long Prayers, in the Form of Meditations. He pass'd for a Prelate of great Learning and an unblameable Life. He has been much cried up for his Firmness and Resolution in his Contests with *William Rufus* and *Henry I.* But this same Firmness in maintaining the Cause of the Pope, which they gloried in for so many *Centuries*, wou'd not meet with that Approbation Now-a-days. *Anselm* died in 1109, and was *Canoniz'd* in the Reign of *Henry VII.* at the Instance of Cardinal *Morton*, [then Archbishop of *Canterbury*.]

Gilbert, Bishop of *London*, was famous in the Reign of *Henry I.* chiefly on the Score of his *Learning*, which gain'd him the Appellation of *Universalist*. These Kind of Names were much in Vogue at that time, as Marks of Honour for such as were distinguish'd in the *Sciences*. He wrote a *Commentary* on *David's Psalms*, and an *Exposition* on the *Lamentations of Jeremiah*, which are still extant in *Manuscript*.

*Gilbert
Bishop of
London.*

Osmund, Bishop of *Salisbury*, by Birth a *Norman*, *Osmund* was Earl of *Dorset*, and Privy-Counsellor to *William the Conqueror*, when he was made a Bishop. As in those Days every *Dioceſe* had a different *Liturgy*, *Osmund* took in hand the correcting that which was us'd in His. He render'd more *Pure* than it was before, by discharging a great many *Barbarous* and *Rude* Expressions, and

*Bishop of
Sarum.*

digesting the whole in a more commodious Method. This *Liturgia Secundum usum Sarum* with these Emendations, was quickly receiv'd in the other *Dioceses*, and at length became common to all the Churches in the Kingdom. 'Tis affirm'd, that after *Osmund's* Death, which fell out in the Year 1099, there were several *Interpolations* thrown in, which are by no means approv'd of at Present.

Malachy. *Malachy*, Archbishop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*, is famous for his *Prophecy* concerning the Popes, which were to succeed to the *Papal Chair* after his Time. These Predictions are still extant *, and are a sort of *Riddles*, which they endeavour to put some Kind of Explanation upon. He died in 1150, at the Monastery of *Clareval*, in *France*. St. *Bernard* has given us his Life.

Ingulph. *Ingulphus* was made known to *William the Conqueror*, when that Prince, who was then Duke of *Normandy* only, came into *England* for an Interview with King *Edward*. He attended him into *Normandy* in quality of *Secretary*; but some time after, throwing up this Office, he went in Pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. At his return he turn'd Monk in the Abbey of *Fonterau*, from whence he was sent for over and made Abbot of *Croyland* by *William the Conqueror*. He died in 1109, after he had written the History of his Monastery, which is inserted in the Collection of the antient *English Historians* **.

Joffrid. *Joffrid*, Abbot of the same Monastery and immediate Successor to *Ingulphus*, was the first, as some affirm, that erected Schools at *Cambridge*, where he settled four of his Monks as Professors. If this be Fact, there must be large Abatements.

* They were publish'd by *Arnold Wyen*.

** Publish'd by Dr. *Gale*. *Ingulphus* was born at *London* in 1030. His Father was one of King *Edward the Confessor's* Couriers. He was the first of our *English Historians* after the *Conquest*. In his History of *Croyland* he has occasionally intermix'd the Story of our Kings from the Year 664 to 1091. Bishop *Nicolson* observes, that the Relation he bore to the *Conqueror* manifestly biases him in the ill Account he gives of *Harold*.

Abatements made in the Antiquity generally ascrib'd to that famous University *.

Gedfrid, Prior of *Winchester*, was one of the best Writers in his Time, if we may believe *William of Malmsbury*, who assures us, that he writ with a great deal of Elegance and Politeness. He compos'd, amongst other things, a *Panegyrick upon the English Primate*. But what is more considerable, he reform'd the *Breviary*, by discharging all the barbarous Terms and making the Stile more pure and neat. *Alford* conjectures that this *Prior* had a principal Hand in correcting the *Liturgy of Sarum*, which went under *Osmund's Name* *.

* This *Joffrid*, about the Year 1114, began a Custom which was afterwards practis'd by all the Monks. Upon *Good-Friday*, stripping himself every Year to the waste before all the *Convent*, he was severely scourg'd. This was done as a *Penance* for their Sins, and to make a deeper Impression of our Saviour's Sufferings.

* The principal Writers during the four first *Norman Reigns* not mention'd by *Rapin*, amongst his Persons of Note are,

William of Poitiers or *Pictaviensis*, who, tho' a Foreigner and *Pictaviensis*, Chaplain to the *Conqueror*, has given us so fair an Account of the *Norman Revolution*, that he has found good Credit with most of our Historians.

Florence a Monk of *Worcester* wrote a *Chronicle* which ended with his Life in 1119, but was continued 50 Years farther by another Monk of the same Monastery. He epitomiz'd or transcrib'd *Marianus*, adding very many Collections out of the *Saxon Chronicle* and other Writers, with much Care and Judgment. He is blam'd for adhering so scrupulously to his Authorities as sometimes to retain their Mistakes.

Florence of Worcester.

Eadmerus a Monk of *Canterbury* in his *Historia Novorum*, &c. publish'd by Mr. *Selden*, has given us the Story of the two *Williams* and *Henry I.*, from the Year 1066 to 1122. 'Tis a Work, (as Bishop *Nicolson* observes) of great Gravity and unquestionable Authority. Tho' he was intimately acquainted with *Anselm*, yet he has given a fair Account of the mighty Dispute about *Investitures*. *Selden* says, his Style equals *Malmsbury's*, his Matter and Composure exceeds Him.

Ordericus Vitalis was a Monk of St. *Eurole's* in *Normandy*, where he liv'd 56 Years. He wrote an *Ecclesiastical History* in 13 Books, wherein he has intermix'd a great many things relating to our History. He is said to be immoderate in the Praise of his Friends and the Dispraise of his Enemies; and to be

be too large in his Description of little Matters, whilst he passes too cursorily over things of Moment.

Malmsbury. William (Monk and Library-keeper) of *Malmsbury* in his Account de *Gessis Regum Anglorum* in five Books, with an Appendix in two more, which he stiles *Historia Novella*, has made a judicious Collection of whatever he found on Record from the Arrival of the Saxons to the 8th Year of the Reign of King Stephen, 1142. He has had the highest Commendations given him by some of our best *Criticks* in English History. He is call'd, *Elegant, Learned and Faithful*. *Usher* stiles him the *Chief of our Historians*.

The most Noble Monument extant is the Old *Saxon Chronicle* or *Annals*. It begins from the Birth of our Saviour, and ends with Stephen's Death in 1154. By the difference of the Style and other infallible Marks, 'tis plain these *Annals* were compos'd at several Times. To the Year 731, they chiefly follow *Bede* as to Church Affairs. But their Account of the Wars between the *Anglo-Saxon* and *Britons*, is borrow'd from no Writer that we know of, and therefore to them it is that we are indebted for the Relation of what pass'd in those Days. *Afferius*'s History of *Alfred* and the *Annals* correspond in so many things, that the one seems to be a Translation of the other. In a Word, they have been the Foundation of all our Histories to the *Norman Conquest*. They were publish'd at Oxford in 1692 by Dr. *Gibson*, the Present Bishop of London, who from all the *Manuscripts* has made up the *Text* as entire and complete as possible, with an elegant and proper *Version*, void of affected Strains and unlucky Mistakes, which us'd to abound in Works of this Kind.

The End of VOL. II.



Plan the end of the year.

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Malmsbury.

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RAY II PLANTAGENET.

*the Dane surnamid the Rich.
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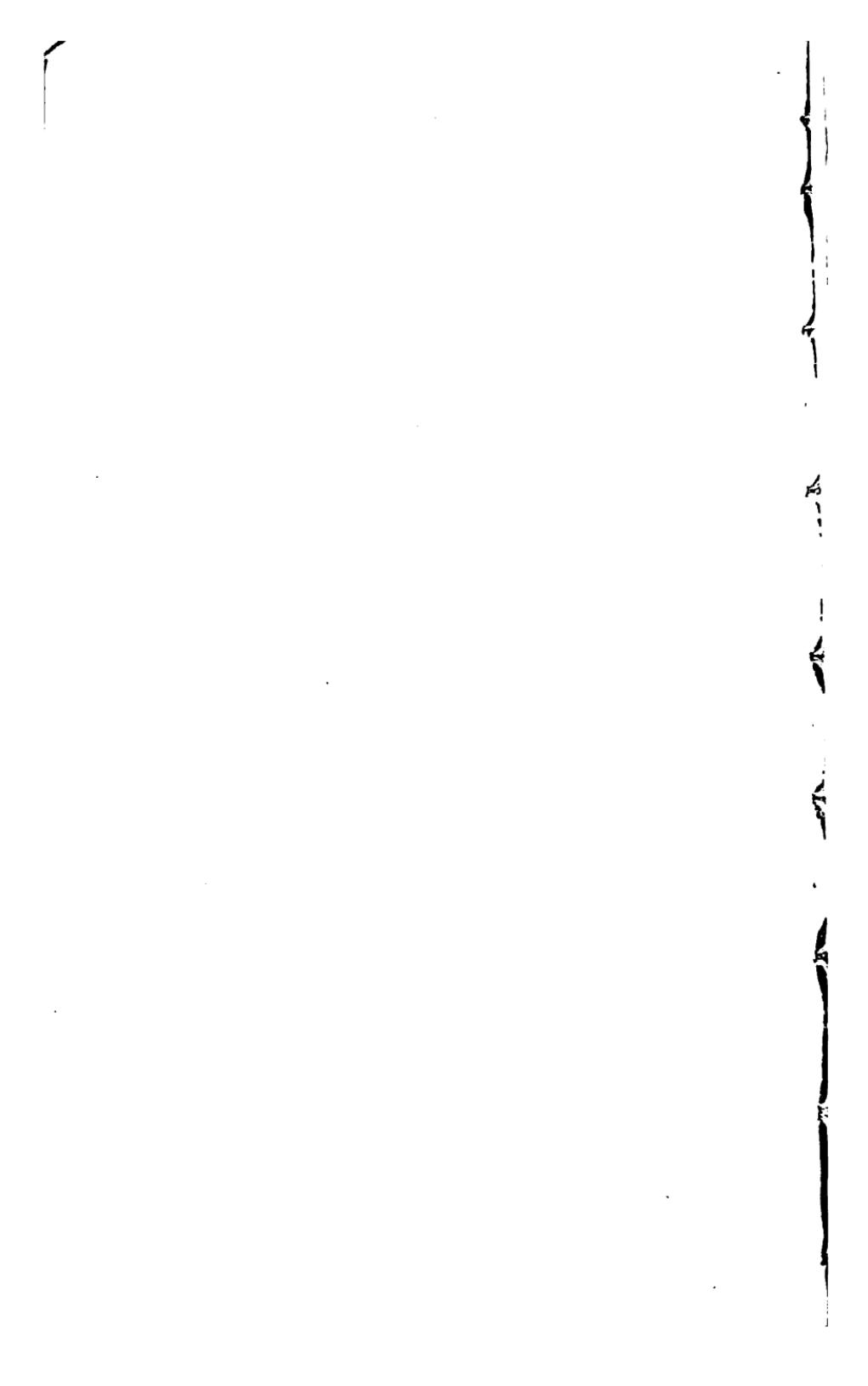
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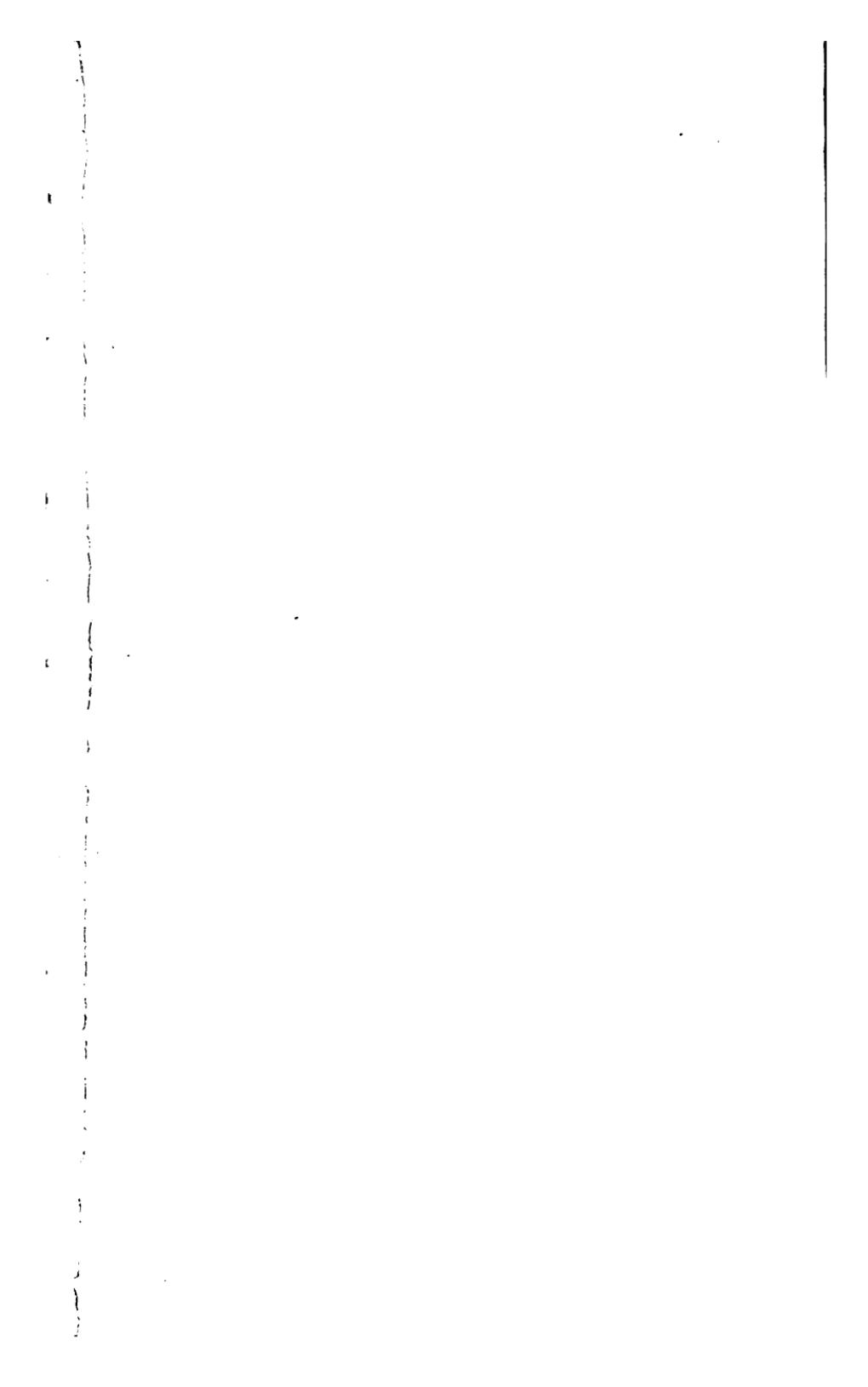
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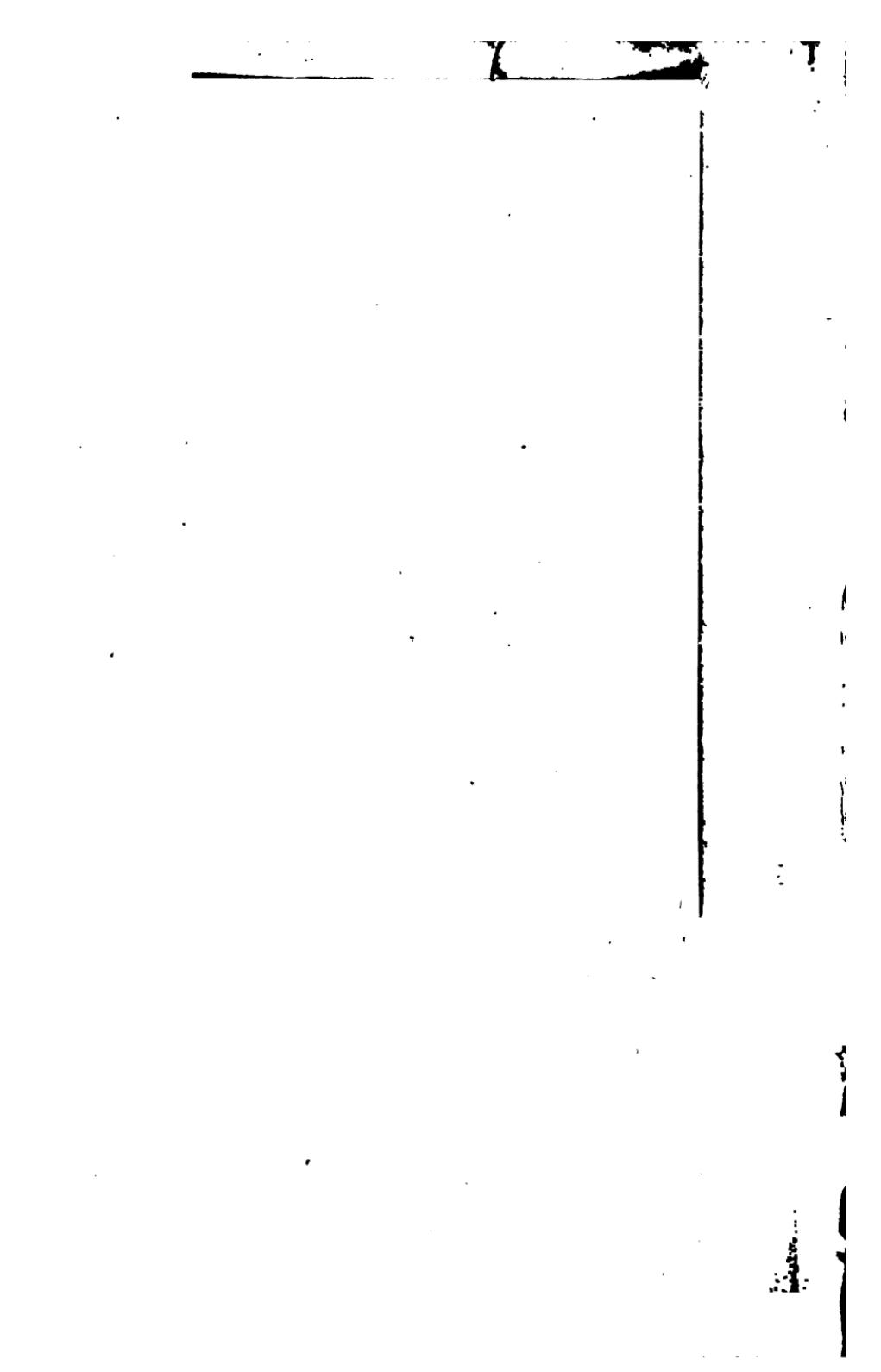
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